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ANNOTATIONS
UPON
KING HENRY VIII.
AND
KING RICHARD III.
BEING THE FORTY-SEVENTH NUMBER OF
WELL'S Edition of
SHAKSPERE'S WORKS.

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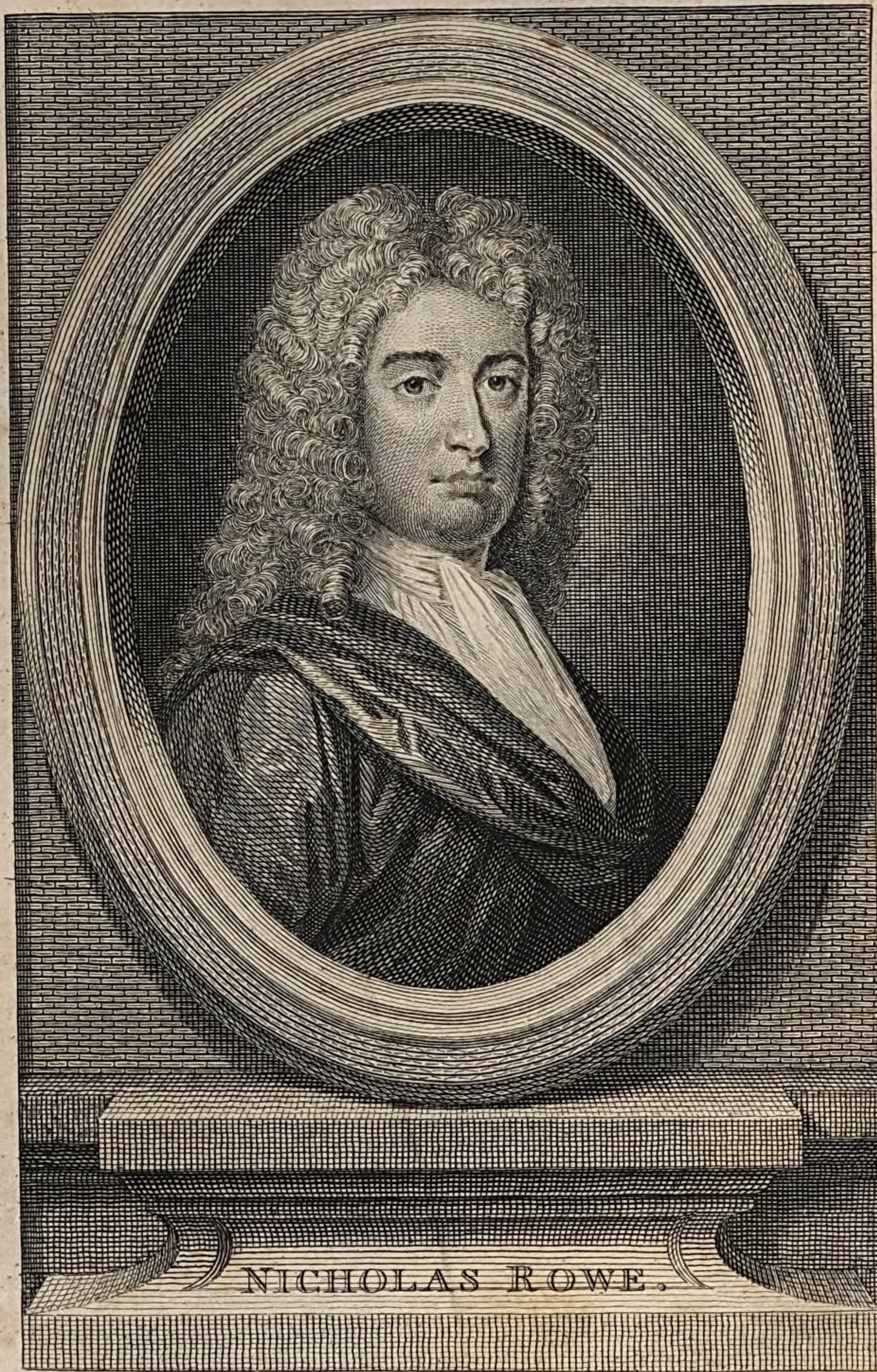
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Sir Godfrey Kneller pinx^t

A. Smith sculp^t

London. Printed for I. Bell. British Library Strand July, 10th. 1787.

ANNOTATIONS

BY

SAM. JOHNSON & GEO. STEEVENS,

AND

THE VARIOUS COMMENTATORS,

UPON

K. RICHARD III.

WRITTEN BY

WILL. SHAKSPERE.

—SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

VIRG.

LONDON:

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M DCC LXXXVII.





ANNOTATIONS
UPON
K. RICHARD III.

ACT I.

King Richard III.] It appears that several dramas on the present subject had been written before Shakspeare attempted it. See the observations prefixed to this play, which was first entered at Stationers-Hall by Andrew Wise, Oct. 20, 1597, under the title of *The Tragedie of King Richard the Third, with the Death of the duke of Clarence*. Before this, viz. Aug. 15th, 1586, was entered, *A Tragical Report of King Richard the Third, a Ballad*. It may be necessary to remark that the words, *song, ballad, book, interlude, and play*, were often synonymously used. STEEVENS.

Line 2. —this sun of York;] Alluding to the cognizance of Edward IV. which was a sun, in memory

mory of the *three suns*, which are said to have appeared at the battle which he gained over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross.

So, in Drayton's *Miseries of Queen Margaret* :

“ Three *suns* were seen that instant to appear,
 “ Which soon again shut themselves up in one,
 “ Ready to buckle as the armies were,
 “ Which this brave duke took to himself alone,”
 &c.

Again, in the 22d Song of the *Polyolbion* :

“ And thankful to high heaven which of his
 cause had care,
 “ Three *suns* for his device still in his ensign
 bare.”

Again, in the Wrighte's Play in the *Chester Collection*, M S. Harl. 1013, the same prodigy is introduced as attending on a more solemn event :

“ That day was sene veramente
 “ Three *sonnes* in the firmament,
 “ And wonderly together went
 “ And torned into one.” STEEVENS.

7. —merry meetings,] So, in *The tragical Life and Death of King Richard the Third*, which is one of the metrical monologues in a collection entitled, *The Mirror of Magistrates*. The first edition of it appeared in 1575, but the lines quoted on the present as well as future occasions throughout this play, are not found in any copy before that of 1610, so that the author was more probably indebted to Shakspeare than Shakspeare to him :

—the

——— the battles fought in fields before
 Were turn'd to meetings of sweet amitie ;
 The war-god's thundring cannons dreadful rore,
 And rattling drum-sounds' warlike harmonie,
 To sweet-tun'd noise of pleasing minstrelsie.

God Mars laid by his lance, and tooke his lute,
 And turn'd his rugged frownes to smiling lookes ;
 Instead of crimson fields, war's fatal fruit,
 He bath'd his limbes in Cypris warbling brooks,
 And set his thoughts upon her wanton lookes.

STEEVENS.

9. *Grim-visag'd war, &c.*] Shakspeare, as Mr. Reed thinks, seems to have had the following passage from Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*, 1584, before him, when he wrote these lines: "Is the warlike sound of drum and trump turn'd to the soft noise of lyre and lute? The neighing of *barbed steeds*, whose loudness filled the air with terror, and whose breaths dimmed the sun with smoak, converted to delicate tunes and amorous glances?" &c. EDITOR.

10. ——— *barbed steeds*,] I. Haywarde, in his *Life and Raigne of Henry IV.* 1599, says—*The duke of Hereford came to the barriers, mounted upon a white courser, barbed with blue and green velvet, &c.*

So, in Jarvis Markham's *English Arcadia*, 1607 :

" ——— armed in a black armour, curiously damask'd with interwinding wreaths of cypress and ewe, his *barbe* upon his horse, all of black abrosetta, cut in broken hoopes upon curled cypress."

B

Again,

Again, in the Second Part of *K. Edward IV.* by Heywood, 1626 :

“ With *barbed* horse, and valiant armed foot.”

Barbed, however, may be no more than a corruption of *barded*. *Equus bardatus*, in the Latin of the middle ages, was a horse adorned with military trappings. I have met with the word *barded* many times in our ancient chronicles and romances. An instance or two may suffice. “ They mounted him surely upon a good and mighty courser, well *barded*,” &c.

Hist. of Helyas Knight of the Swanne, bl. let. no date. Again, in Barrett’s *Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580 :

“ *Bardes* or trappers of horses. *Phaleræ*, Lat.”

Again, Holinshed speaking of the preparations for the battle of Agincourt: “ ———to the intent that if the *barded* horses ran fiercely upon them,” &c. Again, p. 802, he says, that *bards* and *trappers* had the same meaning.

It is observed in the *Turkish Spy*, that the German cuirassiers, though armed and *barbed*, man and horse, were not able to stand against the French cavalry.

STEEVENS.

12. *He capers——*] War *capers*. This is poetical, though a little harsh ; if it be York that capers, the antecedent is at such a distance, that it is almost forgotten.

JOHNSON.

19. *Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,*] By *dissembling* is not meant *hypocritical* nature, that pretends one thing and does another ; but nature that
puts

puts together things of a dissimilar kind, as a brave soul and a deformed body. WARBURTON.

Dissembling is here put very licentiously for *fraudful, deceitful*. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson hath certainly mistaken, and Dr. Warburton rightly explained, the word *dissembling*; as is evident from the following extract: “ Whyle thinges stooode in this case, and that the manner of addyng was sometime too short and sometime too long, els *dissembled* and let slip together.”

Arthur Golding’s translation of *Julius Solinus*, 1587. HENLEY.

27. *And descant on mine own deformity:*] *Descant* is a term in musick, signifying in general that kind of harmony wherein one part is broken and formed into a kind of paraphrase on the other. The propriety and elegance of the above figure, without such an idea of the nature of *descant*, could not be discerned.

Sir J. HAWKINS.

28. *And therefore—since I cannot prove a lover,*] Shakspeare very diligently inculcates, that the wickedness of Richard proceeded from his deformity, from the envy that rose at the comparison of his own person with others, and which incited him to disturb the pleasures that he could not partake.

JOHNSON.

31. *And hate the idle pleasures—*] Perhaps we might read:

And bate the idle pleasures——

JOHNSON.

32. ———*inductions dangerous,*] Preparations for mischief. The *induction* is preparatory to the action of the play. JOHNSON.

Marston has put this line, with little variation, into the mouth of Fame :

“ Plots ha’ you laid ? *inductions dangerous* ? ”

STEEVENS.

36. ———*Edward be as true and just,*] *i. e.* if Edward keeps his word. JOHNSON.

60. *And, for my name of George begins with G, &c.*] So, in Nicols’s *Tragical Life and Death of King Richard III.*

“ By that blind riddle of the letter G,

“ *George* lost his life ; it took effect in me.”

STEEVENS.

62. ———*toys*—] Fancies, freaks of imagination.

JOHNSON.

So *Hamlet*, act i. sc. 4.

“ The very place puts *toys* of desperation

“ Without more motive.”

REED.

78. *Humbly complaining, &c.*] I think these two lines might be better given to Clarence. JOHNSON.

83. *The jealous o’er-worn widow, and herself,*] That is, the queen and Shore. JOHNSON.

94. *Well struck in years ;*] This odd expression in our language was preceded by one as uncouth though of a similar kind.

“ *Well shot in years he seem’d,*” &c.

Spenser’s *Faery Queen*, B. V. c. 6.

The meaning of neither is very obvious ; but as Mr.

Warton

Warton has observed in his *Essay on the Faery Queen*, by an imperceptible progression from one kindred sense to another, words at length obtain a meaning entirely foreign to their original etymology.

STEEVENS.

108. ———*the queen's abjects*,————] That is, not the queen's *subjects*, whom she might protect, but her *abjects*, whom she drives away. JOHNSON.

So, in *Case is altered*. How? Ask *Dalio and Millo*, 1604.

“This oughly object, or rather *abject* of nature.”

HENDERSON.

111. *Were it, to call king Edward's widow—sister,*] This is a very covert and subtle manner of insinuating treason. The natural expression would have been, *were it to call king Edward's wife, sister*. I will solicit for you, though it should be at the expence of so much degradation and constraint, as to own the low-born wife of King Edward for a sister. But by slipping, as it were casually, *widow* into the place of *wife*, he tempts Clarence with an oblique proposal to kill the king. JOHNSON.

King Edward's widow is, I believe, only an expression of contempt, meaning the *widow Grey*, whom Edward had chosen for his queen. Gloster has already called her *the jealous o'er-worn widow*.

STEEVENS.

119. ———*I must perforce*.] Alluding to the proverb, “Patience, perforce, is a medicine for a mad dog.” STEEVENS.

135. ———*should be mew'd,*] A *mew* was the place of confinement where a hawk was kept till he had moulted. So, in *Albumazar* :

“Stand forth, transform'd Antonio, fully
mew'd

“From brown soar feathers of dull yeomanry,

“To the glorious bloom of gentry.”

STEEVENS.

141. *Now, by Saint Paul,*————] The folio reads :

Now, by Saint John,——

STEEVENS.

168. ———*obsequiously lament*] *Obsequious*, in this instance, means *funereal*. So, in *Hamlet*, act i. scene 2.

“*To do obsequious sorrow.*”

STEEVENS.

170. ———*key-cold*] A key, on account of the coldness of the metal of which it is composed, was anciently employed to stop any slight bleeding. The epithet is common to many old writers; among the rest, it is used by Decker in his *Satiromastix* :

“—It is best you hide your head, for fear your wise brains take *key-cold*.”

Again, in the *Country Girl*, by T. B. 1647 :

“The *key-cold* figure of a man.” STEEVENS.

202. *I'll make a corse of him that disobeys.*] So, in *Hamlet* :

“*I'll make a ghost of him that lets me.*”

JOHNSON.

219. ———*pattern of thy butcheries :*] *Pattern* is instance, or example.

JOHNSON.

Holinshed

Holinshed says : “ The dead corps on the Ascension even was conveyed with billes and glaives pompouslie (if you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of St. Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare-faced ; the same in the presence of the beholders did bleed ; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thence he was carried to the Black-friers, and bled there likewise,” &c.

STEEVENS.

220. ———see ! dead Henry's wounds

Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afresh !—]

It is a tradition very generally received, that the murdered body bleeds on the touch of the murderer. This was so much believed by Sir Kenelm Digby, that he has endeavoured to explain the reason, JOHNSON.

So, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1592 :

“ The more I sound his name, the more he bleeds :

“ This blood condemns me, and in gushing forth

“ Speaks as it falls, and asks me why I did it ?”

Again, in the *Widow's Tears*, by Chapman, 1612 :

“ The captain will assay an old conclusion often approved ; that at the murderer's sight the blood revives again and boils afresh ; and every wound has a condemning voice to cry out guilty against the murderer.”

Again, in the 46th *Idea* of Drayton :

“ If the vile actors of the heinous deed,

“ Near the dead body happily be brought,

“ Oft 't hath been prov'd the breathless corps will bleed.”

Mr.

Mr. Tollet observes that this opinion seems to be derived from the ancient Swedes, or Northern nations, from whom we descend ; for they practised this method of trial in dubious cases, as appears from Pitt's *Atlas*, in Sweden, p. 20. STEEVENS.

243. *Vouchsafe, diffus'd infection of a man,*] *Diffus'd infection of a man* may mean, thou that art as dangerous as a pestilence, that infects the air by its diffusion. *Diffus'd* may, however, mean *irregular*. So, in *The Merry Wives*, &c.

“ ———rush at once

“ With some *diffused* song.”

Again, in Green's *Farewell to Follie*, 1617 :

“ I have seen an English gentleman so *defused* in his sutes ; his doubtlet being for the weare of Castile, his hose for Venice,” &c.

265. *That laid their guilt——*] The crime of my brothers. He has just charged the murder of lady Anne's husband upon Edward. JOHNSON.

272. *O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous——*

Glo. *The fitter for the king of heaven, &c.*] So, in *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, 1609 :

“ I'll do't : but yet she is a goodly creature.

“ *Dion*. The fitter then the gods should have her.”

STEEVENS.

286. *——a slower method ;——*] As *quick* was used for *sprightly*, so *slower* was put for *serious*. In the next scene lord Grey desires the queen to

——cheer his grace with quick and merry words.

STEEVENS.

290.

290. *Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect.*] So, in the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1608 :

“ ————thou art the cause,

“ *Effect*, quality, property ; thou, thou.”

STEEVENS.

325. ————*they kill me with a living death.*] In imitation of this passage, and, I suppose, of a thousand more, Pope writes,

“ ————*a living death I bear,*

“ *Says Dapperwit, and sunk beside his chair.*”

JOHNSON.

The same conceit occurs in *The Trimming of Tho. Nash*, 1597 : “ How happy the rat, caught in a trap, and there *dies a living death?*”

STEEVENS.

Again, in our author's *Venus and Adonis* :

“ For I have heard it [love] is *a life in death*,

“ That laughs, and weeps, and all but with a breath.”

MALONE.

328. *These eyes, which never, &c.*] The twelve following beautiful lines added after the first editions.

POPE.

They were added with many more. JOHNSON.

354. *But 'twas thy beauty*————] Shakspeare countenances the observation, that no woman can ever be offended with the mention of her beauty.

JOHNSON.

386. ————*Crosby-place :*] *Crosby-Place* is now *Crosby-square* in *Bishopsgate-street* ; part of the house is yet remaining, and is a meeting-place for a presbyterian congregation.

Sir J. HAWKINS.

399. *Imagine I have said farewell already.*] Cibber, who altered Richard III. for the stage, was so thoroughly convinced of the ridiculousness and improbability of this scene, that he thought himself obliged to make Tressel say :

*When future chronicles shall speak of this,
They will be thought romance, not history.*

STEEVENS.

419. *Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,*] *i. e.* when nature was in a prodigal or lavish mood.

WARBURTON.

420. —and, no doubt, right royal,—] That is, *full of all the noble properties of a king.* No doubt, right royal, may, however, be ironically spoken, alluding to the incontinence of Margaret, his mother. STEEVENS.

427. —a beggarly denier,] A *denier* is the twelfth part of a French sous, and appears to have been the usual request of a *beggar*. So, in the *Cunning Northerne Beggar*, bl. let. an ancient ballad :

“For still will I cry, good your Worship, good
Sir

“Bestow one poor *denier*, Sir.” STEEVENS.

454. *It is determin'd, not concluded yet :*] *Determin'd* signifies the final conclusion of the will : *concluded*, what cannot be altered by reason of some act consequent on the final judgment. WARBURTON.

475. *Ay, madam : he desires to make atonement*] Thus all the old editions that I have seen ; but Mr. Pope altered it thus :

“Madam, we did ; he seeks to make atone-
ment ;”

and

and has been followed by succeeding editors.

STEEVENS.

The 4to. of 1613, reads,

“Madam, we did.”——

MALONE.

478. ——to warn them] *i. e.* to summon. So, in *Julius Cæsar* :

“They mean to *warn* us at Philippi here.”

STEEVENS.

508. *Of your ill-will, &c.*] This line is restored from the first edition.

POPE.

553. *Tell him, and spare not; look, what I have said*] This verse I have restored from the old quartos.

THEOBALD.

556. ——my pains——] My labours; my toils.

JOHNSON.

557. Out, devil!——] Mr. Lambe observes in his notes on the ancient metrical history of the *Battle of Floddon Field*, that *out* is an interjection of abhorrence or contempt, most frequent in the mouths of the common people of the north. It occurs again in act iv.

“——out on ye, owls!”

STEEVENS.

564. ——royalize,] *i. e.* to make royal. So, in *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 1607:

“Who means to-morrow for to *royalize*

“The triumphs,” &c.

STEEVENS.

568. ——Was not your husband

In Margaret's battle,——] It is said in *Henry VI.* that he died in quarrel of the house of York.

JOHNSON.

586.

586. *We follow'd then our lord, our sovereign king ;]*
The quarto of 1613 reads,——our *lawful* king ;—
which is, perhaps, better, as it justifies the attachment
of his followers. MALONE.

597. *Hear me, you wrangling pirates, &c.]* This
scene of Margaret's imprecations is fine and artful.
She prepares the audience, like another Cassandra,
for the following tragick revolutions.

WARBURTON.

598. ——*which you have pill'd from me:]* To *pill*
is to pillage. So, in the *Martyr'd Soldier*, by Shirley,
1638 :

“ He has not *pill'd* the rich, nor flay'd the poor.”

STEEVENS.

To *pill*, is literally, to take off the outside or rind.
Thus they say in Devonshire, to *pill* an apple, rather
than *pare* it; and Shirley uses the word precisely in
this sense. HENLEY.

602. *Ah, gentle villain——]* The meaning of
gentle is not *tender* or *courteous*, but *high-born*. An
opposition is meant between that and *villain*, which
means at once a *wicked* and a *low-born* wretch. So
before :

*Since ev'ry Jack is made a gentleman,
There's many a gentle person made a Jack.*

JOHNSON.

603. ——*what mak'st thou in my sight ?]* An
obsolete expression for——*what dost thou in my sight*.
So, in *Othello* :

“ Ancient, what makes he here ?”

Margaret

Margaret in her answer takes the word in its ordinary acceptation.

MALONE.

626. *Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.*] Alluding to a scene in *K. Henry VI. Part III.*

“What weeping ripe, my lord Northumberland?”

STEEVENS.

629. *And turn you all your hatred now on me?*] I would point thus :

And turn you all, your hatred now on me?
to shew that *all* is not to be joined in construction with *hatred*. That the poet did not intend that it should be connected with *hatred*, appears, I think, from the foregoing line,

What! were you snarling *all*, &c.

The quarto reads, perhaps better :

And turn you now your hatred, all on me ?

MALONE.

633. *Could, &c.*] The folio reads :

Should all——

which is, perhaps, better.

MALONE.

636. ——*by surfeit die your king,*] Alluding to his luxurious life.

JOHNSON.

667. ——*elvish-mark'd*] The common people in Scotland (as I learn from Kelly's *Proverbs*) have still an aversion to those who have any natural defect or redundancy, as thinking them *mark'd* out for mischief.

STEEVENS.

——*rooting hog!*] The expression is fine, alluding (in memory of her young son) to the ravage which hogs make, with the finest flowers, in gardens ;

and intimating that Elizabeth was to expect no other treatment for her sons. WARBURTON.

She calls him *hog*, as an appellation more contemptuous than *boar*, as he is elsewhere termed from his ensigns armorial. There is no such heap of allusion as the commentator imagines. JOHNSON.

In the *Mirror for Magistrates* (a book already quoted) is the following *Complaint of Collingbourne, who was cruelly executed for making a rime* :

*For where I meant the king by name of hog,
I only alluded to his badge the bore :*

*To Lovel's name I added more—our dog ;
Because most dogs have borne that name of yore.*

*These metaphors I us'd with other more,
As cat and rat, the half-names of the rest,
To hide the sense that they so wrongly wrest.*

That *Lovel* was once the common name of a dog, may be likewise known from a passage in *The Historie of Jacob and Esau*, an interlude, 1568 :

“ Then come on at once, take my quiver and my
bowe ;

“ Fette *lovell* my hounde, and my horne to blowe.”

The rhyme for which Collingbourne suffered, was :

“ A cat, a rat, and Lovel the dog,

“ Rule all England under a hog.” STEEVENS.

The rhyme of Collingbourne is thus preserved in Heywood's *History of Edward IV.* Part II.

“ The cat, the rat, and Lovell our dog,

“ Doe rule all England under a hog.

“ The

“ The crooke backt boore the way hath found

“ *To root our roses from our ground.*

“ *Both flower and bud will he confound,*

“ Till king of beasts the swine be crown'd :

“ And then the dog, the cat and rat,

“ Shall in his trough feed and be fat.”

The propriety of Dr. Warburton's note, notwithstanding what Dr. Johnson hath subjoined, is fully confirmed by this satyr. HENLEY.

669. *The slave of nature,———*] The expression is strong and noble, and alludes to the ancient custom of masters branding their profligate slaves : by which it is insinuated, that his mis-shapen person was the mark that nature had set upon him to stigmatize his ill conditions. Shakspeare expresses the same thought in *The Comedy of Errors* :

“ *He is deformed, crooked, &c.*

“ *Stigmatical in making,———*”

But as the speaker rises in her resentment, she expresses this contemptuous thought much more openly, and condemns him to a still worse state of slavery :

“ *Sin, death, and hell, have set their marks on him.*”

Only, in the first line, her mention of his moral condition insinuates her reflections on his deformity : and, in the last, her mention of his deformity insinuates her reflections on his moral condition : And thus he has taught her to scold in all the elegance of figure.

WARBURTON,

672. *Thou rag of honour! &c.*] This word of contempt is used again in *Timon*:

“If thou wilt curse, thy father, that poor *rag*,
“Must be the subject.”

Again, in this play:

“These over-weening *rags* of France.”

STEEVENS.

683. ———*flourish of my fortune!*] This expression is likewise used by Massinger in the *Great Duke of Florence*:

“————I allow these

“*As flourishings of fortune.*” STEEVENS.

684. ———*bottled spider,*] A spider is called bottled, because, like other insects, he has a middle slender, and a belly protuberant. Richard's form and venom, made her liken him to a spider.

JOHNSON.

709. *Witness my sun, &c.*] The folios read:

Witness my *sonne*————

Her distress cannot prevent her quibbling. It may be here remarked, that the introduction of Margaret, in this place, is against all historical evidence. She was ransomed and sent to France soon after Tewkesbury fight, and there passed the remainder of her wretched life.

REMARKS.

712. *Your aiery buildeth in our aiery's nest:—*] An *aiery* is a hawk's or an eagle's nest. So, in Green's *Card of Fancy*, 1608:

“It is a subtle bird that breeds among the *aiery*
of hawks.”

Again,

Again, in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1630:

“His high-built *aiery* shall be drown'd in blood.”

Again, in Massinger's *Maid of Honour*:

“One *aiery*, with proportion, ne'er discloses

“The eagle and the wren.” STEEVENS.

735. *Sin, death, and hell,—*] Possibly Milton took from hence the hint of his famous Allegory.

BLACKSTONE.

744. *Live each of you the subjects to his hate,*

And he to yours, and all of you to God's!] It is evident from the conduct of Shakspeare, that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In this play of *Richard the Third*, he seems to reduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which queen Margaret had vented against them; and he could not give that weight to her curses, without supposing a right in her to utter them. WALPOLE.

747. *—I wonder she's at liberty.]* Thus the quarto. The folio reads,

—I muse, why she's at liberty.

STEEVENS.

756. *He is frank'd up to fatting for his pains;—]* A *frank* is an old English word for a *hog-sty*. 'Tis possible he uses this metaphor to Clarence, in allusion to the crest of the family of York, which was a *boar*. Whereto relate those famous old verses on Richard III:

The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,

Rule all England under a hog.

He uses the same metaphor in the last scene of act iv.

POPE.

A *frank* was not a common *hog-sty*, but the pen in which those hogs were confined of whom *brawn* was to be made.

STEEVENS.

759. ———done scathe to us.] *Scathe* is harm, mischief.

So, in *Soliman and Perseda* :

“Whom now that paltry island keeps from
scath.”

Again :

“Millions of men opprest with ruin and scath.”

STEEVENS.

795. *Your eyes drop mill-stones, when fools' eyes drop tears:]* This, I believe, is a proverbial expression. It is used again in the tragedy of *Cæsar and Pompey*, 1607 :

“Men's eyes must mill-stones drop, when fools
shed tears.”

STEEVENS.

801. *So full of fearful dreams,]* The quarto 1613, has——ghastly dreams.

MALONE.

802. ———faithful man,] Not an infidel.

JOHNSON.

821. *What sights of ugly death——]* The quarto of 1613, reads——What ugly sights of death.

MALONE.

825. *Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,]* *Unvalu'd* is here used for *invaluable*. So, in *Lovelace's Posthumous Poems*, 1659 :

“——the

“——the *unvalew'd* robe she wore
“ Made infinite lay-lovers to adore.”

Again :

“ And what substantial riches I possess,
“ I must to these *unvalew'd* dreams confess.”

MALONE.

830. *That woo'd the slimy bottom———*] By
seeming to gaze upon it; or, as we now say, to *ogle* it.

JOHNSON.

835. *———but still the envious flood*
Kept in my soul, and would not let it forth
To seek the empty, vast, and wand'ring air.]

The folio reads :

Stop'd in my soul——

and instead of—*to seek* the empty, &c. has—*to find* the empty, &c. The quarto of 1613, evidently by a mistake of the compositor, reads :

To keep the empty, &c.

This line would, I think, be improved by a different punctuation :

To find the empty vast, and wandring air.
To find the *immense vacuity*, &c. *Vast* is used as a substantive, by our author, in other places. So, in *Pericles* :

“ Thou God of this great *vast*, rebuke the
surges——”

Again, in *The Winter's Tale* : “ ——they have seemed
to be together though absent; shook hands over a
vast——”

MALONE.

844. ———grim ferryman.] The folio reads——
sour ferryman. STEEVENS.

853. ———fleeing, *perjur'd* Clarence—] *Fleeing* is
the same as *changing sides*. JOHNSON.

So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

———now the *fleeing* moon

No planet is of mine.

Clarence broke his oath with the earl of Warwick, and
joined the army of his brother king Edward IV.

STEEVENS.

856. ——a *legion of foul fiends*

Environ'd me, &c.] Milton seems to have
thought on this passage where he is describing the
midnight sufferings of *Our Saviour*, in the 4th book of
Paradise Regain'd:

“——nor yet stay'd the terror there,

“Infernal ghosts, and *hellish furies* round

“*Environ'd* thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some
shriek'd——” STEEVENS.

867. *O God! if my deep prayers, &c.*] The four
following lines have been added since the first edition.

POPE.

874. *Sorrow breaks seasons, &c.*] In the common
editions, the keeper is made to hold the dialogue with
Clarence till this line. And here Brakenbury enters,
pronouncing these words; which seem to me a reflec-
tion naturally resulting from the foregoing conver-
sation, and therefore continued to be spoken by the
same person, as it is accordingly in the first edition.

POPE.

876.

876. *Princes have but their titles for their glories,
An outward honour for an inward toil;*] The first line may be understood in this sense, *The glories of princes are nothing more than empty titles.* JOHNSON.

878. *—for unfelt imaginations,
They often feel a world of restless cares :]* They often suffer real miseries for imaginary and unreal gratifications. JOHNSON.

950. *Spoke like a tall fellow.]* The meaning of *tall*, in old English, is *stout, daring, fearless, and strong.* JOHNSON.

952. *—the costard]* i. e. the head. See Note on *Love's Labour Lost*, act iii. sc. 1. STEEVENS.

958. *—we'll reason—]* We'll talk.

JOHNSON.

Are you call'd forth from out a world of men,] So, in *Nobody and Somebody*, 1598 :

“ Art thou *call'd* forth amongst a thousand men

“ To minister this sovereign antidote ?”

STEEVENS.

982. *What lawful quest—]* Quest is inquest or jury.

JOHNSON.

987. *—as you hope to have redemption,]* The folio reads—as you hope for any goodness. The quarto likewise adds :

By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins.

STEEVENS.

1019. *—novice,—]* Youth; one yet new to the world.

JOHNSON.

1055. ———*and save your souls, &c.*] The six following lines are not in the old edition. POPE.

They are not necessary, but so forced in, that something seems omitted to which these lines are the answer. JOHNSON.

1066. ———*what beggar pities not?*] Mr. Pope's note is not accurately stated. I believe this passage should be regulated thus :

Clar. Relent and save your souls.

1 Vil. Relent! 'tis cowardly and womanish.

Clar. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.

Which of you if you were a prince's son

Being pent——

If two such——

Would not entreat for life?

My friend, I spy——

O, if thine eye——

Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,

As you would beg, were you in my distress.

A begging prince what beggar pities not?

TYRWHITT.

A begging prince what beggar pities not?] To this in the quarto, the murderer replies :

I, thus and thus : if this will not serve,

I'll chop thee in the malmesey but in the next
roome.

And then stabs him.

STEEVENS.

ACT

ACT II.

Line 55. ———— *I* *F* *I* *unwittingly*, or in my rage,
Have aught committed that is hardly borne] The
 folio and the quarto of 1613 add after *unwittingly*—
 “or in my rage.” The metre is hurt by the addi-
 tion, but the sense improved. MALONE.

69. *I do not know, &c.*] Milton in his EIKONO-
 ΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, has this observation: “The poets, and
 some English, have been in this point so mindful of
 decorum, as to put never more pious words in the
 mouth of any person, than of a tyrant. I shall not
 instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might
 be less conversant, but one whom we well know was
 the closet-companion of these his solitudes, William
 Shakspeare; who introduced the person of Richard the
 Third, speaking in as high a strain of piety and mor-
 tification as is uttered in any passage in this book, and
 sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some
 words in this place; *I intended*, saith he, *not only to*
oblige my friends, but my enemies. The like saith
 Richard, act ii. sc. 1.

“I do not know that Englishman alive
 “With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
 “More than the infant that is born to-night;
 “I thank my God for my humility.”

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the
 tragedy,

tragedy, wherein the poet used not much licence in departing from the truth of history, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but of religion.” STEEVENS.

89. ———*some tardy cripple, &c.*] This is an allusion to a proverbial expression which Drayton has versified in the second canto of the *Baron's Wars*:

“ I'll news hath wings, and with the wind doth go ;
“ Comfort's a *cripple*, and comes ever slow.”

STEEVENS.

99. *The forfeit,——*] He means the *remission* of the forfeit. JOHNSON.

102. *Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death,*] This lamentation is very tender and pathetick. The recollection of the good qualities of the dead is very natural, and no less naturally does the king endeavour to communicate the crime to others. JOHNSON.

191. ———*his images :*] The children by whom he was represented. JOHNSON.

192. *But now, two mirrors of his princely semblance
Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death ;*] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

“ Poor *broken glass*, I often did behold
“ In thy sweet semblance my old age new born ;
“ But now, that fair fresh *mirror*, dim and old,
“ Shows me a bare-boned *death* by time out-worn.”

Again, in his 3d Sonnet:

“ Thou art thy mother's *glass*,” &c. MALONE.

210. ———being govern'd by the watry moon,] That I may live hereafter under the influence of the moon, which governs the tides, and by the help of that influence drown the world. The introduction of the moon is not very natural. JOHNSON.

262. *Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd*] Edward the young prince, in his father's lifetime, and at his demise, kept his household at Ludlow, as prince of Wales, under the governance of Antony Woodville, earl of Rivers, his uncle by the mother's side. The intention of his being sent thither was to see justice done in the Marches; and, by the authority of his presence, to restrain the Welshmen, who were wild, dissolute, and ill-disposed, from their accustomed murders and outrages. Vide Hall, Holinshed, &c. THEOBALD.

285. ———your censures——] To *censure*, formerly meant to *deliver an opinion*. So, in Heywood's *Golden Age*, 1611:

“——yet if I *censure* freely,

“I needs must think that face and personage

“Was ne'er deriv'd from baseness.”

STEEVENS.

288. *I'll sort occasion*

As index to the story——] *i. e.* preparatory—by way of prelude. So, in *Hamlet*:

“That storms so loud and thunders in the
index.”

See the note on that passage.

MALONE.

D

299.

299. ———*seldom comes a better:*] So, in *The English Courtier and Country Gentleman*, 4to. bl. let. 1586, “——as the proverb sayth, *seldome coms the better*. Vall. That proverb in deed is auncient, and for the most part true,” &c. REED.

307. *Woe to that land, that's govern'd by a child!*]

“Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child”

Ecclesiastes, ch. x.

STEEVENS.

337. *Before the days of change, &c.*] This is from Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. III. p. 721. “Before such great things, men's hearts, of a secret instinct of nature, misgive them; as the sea without wind swelleth of himself some time before a tempest.” TOLLET.

It is evident in this passage, that both Holinshed and Shakspeare allude to St. Luke. See ch. xxi. 25, &c. HENLEY.

361. ———*the wretched'st thing,*———] *Wretched* is here used in a sense yet retained in familiar language, for *paltry*, *pitiful*, being below expectation.

JOHNSON.

366. ———*been remember'd,*] *To be remembered* is, in Shakspeare, to have one's memory quick, to have one's thoughts about one. JOHNSON.

378. *A parlous boy;*] *Parlous* is keen, shrewd. So, in *Law Tricks*, &c. 1608:

“A *parlous* youth, sharp and satirical.”

STEEVENS.

It is a corruption of *perilous*, dangerous; the sense it

it has here. The queen evidently means to chide him.

REMARKS.

381. *Enter a Messenger.*] The quarto reads—*Enter Dorset.*

STEEVENS.

396. *The tyger now hath seiz'd the gentle hind ;*] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

“ ———While she, the picture of pure piety,

“ Like a white *hind* under the grype's sharp claws.——”

MALONE.

398. ———*awless*———] Not producing awe, not revered. To *jut upon* is to *encroach*.

JOHNSON.

411. *Or let me die, to look on earth no more !*] This is the reading of all the copies, from the first edition put out by the players, downwards. But I have restored the reading of the old quarto in 1597, which is copied by all the other authentick quartos, by which the thought is finely and properly improved.

Or let me die, to look on death no more.

THEOBALD.

This quarto, printed in 1597, I have never seen, neither was it in Theobald's collection of the old copies, which the late Mr. Tonson possessed entire.

STEEVENS.

ACT III.

Line 1. ——— *To* your chamber.] London was anciently called *Camera regia*. POPE.

So, in Heywood's *If you know not me you know Nobody*, 1633, 2d Part :

“ This city, *our great chamber*.” STEEVENS.

This title it began to have immediately after the Norman conquest. See Coke's 4 Inst. 243, where it is styled *Camera Regis*; Camden's *Britannia*, 374.

REED.

11. ——— jumpeth *with the heart*.] So, in *Soliman and Perseda* :

“ Wert thou my friend, thy mind would *jump*
with mine.” STEEVENS.

24. ——— *in good time*,] As the French say, *à-propos*.
STEEVENS.

45. *Too ceremonious, and traditional* :] *Ceremonious* for superstitious; *traditional* for adherent to old customs. WARBURTON.

46. *Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,*
You break not sanctuary————] That is, compare the act of seizing him with the gross and licentious practices of *these times*, it will not be considered as a violation of sanctuary, for you may give such reasons as men are now used to admit. JOHNSON.

55. *Oft have I heard of sanctuary men, &c.*] These arguments

arguments against the privilege of sanctuary are taken from Hall's Chron. p. 10. "—And verily, I have harde of sanctuarye menne, but I never hearde before of sanctuarye children," &c. STEEVENS.

77. *As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,*] *Retailed* may signify diffused, dispersed. JOHNSON.

Retailed is here used in reference to its signification in trade, and means *transferred, handed down from one to another*. HENLEY.

79. *So wise, &c.*] *Is cadit ante senem, qui sapit ante diem*, a proverbial line. STEEVENS.

82. *Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,*

I moralize—two meanings in one word.] By *vice*, the author means not a *quality*, but a *person*. There was hardly an old *play*, till the period of the *Reformation*, which had not in it a *devil*, and a droll character, a jester (who was to play upon the devil); and this buffoon went by the name of a *Vice*. This *buffoon* was at first accoutred with a long jerkin, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a wooden dagger, with which (like another Harlequin) he was to make sport in belabouring the *devil*. This was the constant entertainment in the times of *popery*, whilst spirits, and witchcraft, and exorcising held their own. When the *Reformation* took place, the stage shook off some grossities, and increased in refinements. The master-devil then was soon dismissed from the scene; and this buffoon was changed into a subordinate fiend, whose business was to range on earth, and seduce poor mortals into that personated vicious quality, which he oc-

casionally supported ; as, *iniquity* in general, *hypocrisy*, *usury*, *vanity*, *prodigality*, *gluttony*, &c. Now, as the fiend (or *vice*) who personated Iniquity (or Hypocrisy, for instance) could never hope to play his game to the purpose but by hiding his cloven foot, and assuming a semblance quite different from his real character, he must certainly put on a *formal* demeanour, *moralize* and prevaricate in his words, and pretend a *meaning* directly opposite to his *genuine* and *primitive intention*. If this does not explain the passage in question, it is all that I can at present suggest upon it, THEOBALD.

See the dissertation on the old *Vice* at the end of these notes.

A question may be added—To what equivocation Richard refers ? The position immediately preceding, that *fame lives long without characters*, that is, without the help of letters, seems to have no ambiguity. He must allude to the former line :

So young so wise, they say, did ne'er live long,
in which he conceals, under a proverb, his design of hastening the prince's death. JOHNSON.

94. —*lightly*—] Commonly, in ordinary course. JOHNSON.

So, in the old proverb : “ There's lightning *lightly* before thunder.” See Ray's *Prov.* p. 130. edit. 3d.

Again, in *Penny wise and Pound foolish*, &c.—“ Misfortunes seldome walke alone, and so when blessings doe knocke at a man's dore, they *lightly* are not without followers and fellowes.”

Holinshed, p. 725, concerning one of Edward's concubines : “ —one whom no one could get out of the

the church *lightly* to any place, but it were to his bed."

Again, in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*:

"He is not *lightly* within to his mercer."

STEEVENS.

97. ~~———~~*dread lord*; ~~———~~] The original of this epithet applied to kings has been much disputed. In some of our old statutes, the king is called *Rex metuendissimus*.

JOHNSON.

99. *Too late he died*, ~~———~~] *i. e.* too lately, the loss is too fresh in our memory.

WARBURTON.

"Too late" is again used in the sense of *too recently*, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*:

"~~———~~I did give that life,

"Which she too early, and *too late* hath spill'd."

MALONE.

115. *And, being but a toy, which is no gift to give.*] This is the reading of the quartos; the first folio reads:

And, being but a toy, which is no grief to give.

This reading, made a little more metrical, has been followed, I think erroneously, by all the editors.

JOHNSON.

The quarto 1612 reads:

~~———~~*no grief*~~———~~

STEEVENS.

122. *I weigh it lightly, &c.*] *i. e.* I should still esteem it but a trifling gift, were it heavier.

WARBURTON.

So, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, act v. sc. 2.

"You weigh me not,—O that's you care not for me."

STEEVENS.

131. *Because that I am little like an ape,*] The reproach seems to consist in this: at country shews it was

was common to set the monkey on the back of some other animal, as a *bear*. The duke therefore, in calling himself *ape*, calls his uncle *bear*. JOHNSON.

To this custom there seems to be an allusion in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Gypsies*:

“ A gypsy in his shape,
 “ More calls the beholder,
 “ Than *the fellow with the ape*,
 “ Or *the ape on his shoulder*.”

Again, in *The first Part of the Eighth liberal Science, entituled, Ars Adulandi, &c. devised and compiled by Ulpian Fulwel, 1576*: “ ———thou hast an excellent *back* to carry my lord's *ape*.” STEEVENS.

180. ———divided *councils*,] That is, a *private consultation*, *separate* from the known and publick council. So, in the next scene, Hastings says:

Bid him not fear the separated councils.

JOHNSON.

So, *Hall*, p. 13, “ When the protectour had both the chyldren in his possession, yea, and that they were in a sure place, he then began to threst to se the ende of his enterprise. And, to avoyde all suspicion, he caused all the lordes whiche he knewe to bee faithfull to the kynge, to assemble at Baynardes Castle, to comen of the ordre of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his complices, and of his affinitee, at Crosbies-place, contrived the contrary, and to make the protectour kyng: to which counsail they were adhibite vere fewe, and they very secrete.” REED.

194. ———will do;] The folio reads—will *determine*. STEEVENS.

202. *Scene II.*] Every material circumstance in the following scene is taken from the *Chronicles*, except that it is a *knight* with whom Hastings converses, instead of *Buckingham*. STEEVENS.

212. ———the boar had rased off his helm:] This term *rased* or *rashed*, is always given to describe the violence inflicted by a *boar*.

So, in *King Lear*, 4to. edit.

“In his anointed flesh *rash* boarish fangs.”

Again, in Warner’s *Albion’s England*, 1602, B. VII. ch. 36:

“——ha, cur, avaunt, the bore so *rase* thy hide!”

By the *boar*, throughout this scene, is meant Gloster, who was called the *boar* or the *hog*, from his having a *boar* for his cognizance, and one of the supporters of his coat of arms. STEEVENS.

226. ———wanting instance:] That is, *wanting* some *example* or *act of malevolence*, by which they may be justified: or which, perhaps, is nearer to the true meaning, wanting any *immediate* ground or reason.

JOHNSON.

The folio reads—*without* instance. STEEVENS.

276. ——the holy rood,] *i. e.* the cross. So, in the old mystery of *Candlemas-Day*, 1512:

“Whan hir swete sone shall on a *rood* deye.”

Again, in Spenser’s *Faery Queen*, B. VI. c. v:

“And nigh thereto a little chapell stoode

“Which being all with yvy overspred,

“Deck’d

“ Deck’d all the roofe, and shadowing the *roode*,
 “ Seem’d like a grove fair branched overhed.”

STEEVENS.

291. ———*have with you.*————] A familiar phrase in parting, as much as, *take something along with you*, or, *I have something to say to you.* JOHNSON.

293. *They, for their truth,*————] That is, with respect to their *honesty.* JOHNSON.

306. ———*hold it,*————] That is, *continue it.* JOHNSON.

311. ———*exercise ;*] Performance of divine service. JOHNSON.

315. ———*shriving work in hand.*] *Shriving work* is *confession.* JOHNSON.

325. *Come, bring forth the prisoners.*] This speech is wanting in the folio. STEEVENS.

376. *Had you not come upon your cue,*——] This expression is borrowed from the theatre. The *cue*, *queue*, or *tail* of a speech, consists of the last words, which are the token for an entrance or answer. To *come on the cue*, therefore, is to come at the proper time. JOHNSON.

382. ———*I saw good strawberries*————] The reason why the bishop was dispatched on this errand, is not clearer in Holinshed and Hall, from whom Shakspeare adopted the circumstance, than in this scene, where it is introduced. Nothing seems to have happened which might not have been transacted with equal security in the presence of the reverend cultivator of *these strawberries*, whose complaisance is likewise recorded

corded by the author of the Latin play on the same subject, in the Museum :

*Eliensis antistes venis? senem quies,
Juvenem labor decet : ferunt hortum tuum
Decora fraga plurimum producere.*

EPISCOPUS ELIENSIS.

*Nil tibi claudetur hortus quod meus
Producit ; esset lautius vellem mihi
Quo sim tibi gratus.*

This circumstance of asking for the strawberries, however, may have been mentioned by the historians merely to shew the unusual affability and good humour which the dissembling Gloster affected, at the very time when he had determined on the death of Hastings.

STEEVENS.

405. ———*likelihood*———] Semblance ; appearance. JOHNSON.

So, in another of our author's plays :

———*poor likelihoods*, and modern seemings.

STEEVENS.

423. *If! &c.*] For this circumstance see *Holinshed*, *Hall*, and *The Mirror of Magistrates*. FARMER.

427. *Lovel, and Catesby, look, that it be done;*] In former copies :

Lovel, and Ratcliff, look, that it be done.

The scene is here in the Tower ; and lord Hastings was cut off on that very day, when Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan suffered at Pomfret. How then could Ratcliff be both in Yorkshire and the Tower ? In the scene preceding this, we find him conducting those gentlemen to the block. In the old quarto, we find it,

it, *Exeunt; Manet Catesby with Hastings.* And in the next scene, before the Tower walls, we find Lovel and Catesby come back from the execution, bringing the head of Hastings. THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald should have added, that, in the old *quarto*, no names are mentioned in Richard's speech. He only says—"some see it done." Nor, in that edition, does *Lovel* appear in the next scene; but only *Catesby*, bringing the head of Hastings. The confusion seems to have arisen, when it was thought necessary that *Catesby* should be employed to fetch the mayor, who, in the *quarto*, is made to come without having been sent for. As some other person was then wanted to bring the head of Hastings, the poet, or the players, appointed *Lovel* and *Ratcliff* to that office, without reflecting that the latter was engaged in another service on the same day at Pomfret.

TYRWHITT.

428. *The rest, that love me, rise, and follow me.]* So, in *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594 :

"And they that love my honour, follow me."

MALONE.

433. *Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble, &c.]* So, in the *Legend of Lord Hastings*, by M. D.

My palfrey, in the plainest paved street,

Thrice bow'd his bones, thrice kneeled on the floor,

Thrice shunn'd (as Balaam's ass) the dreaded tower.

To *stumble* was anciently esteem'd a bad omen. So, in the *Honest Lawyer*. "And just at the threshold Master Bromley *stumbled*. Signs! signs!"

The

The *housings* of a horse, anciently denominated a *foot-cloth*. So, in Ben Jonson's play called *The Case is Altered* :

“ I'll go on my *foot-cloth*, I'll turn gentleman.”

Again, in *A fair Quarrel*, by Middleton, 1617 :

“ ————thou shalt have a physician,

“ The best that gold can fetch upon his *foot-cloth*.”

Again, in *Ram-Alley, or Merry Tricks*, 1610 :

“ ————nor shall I need to try

“ Whether my well-greas'd tumbling *foot-cloth*
nag

“ Be able to out-run a well-breath'd catch-pole.”

STEEVENS.

447. *Who builds, &c.*] So, Horace :

Nescius auræ fallacis.

JOHNSON.

457. ————*in rusty armour, &c.*] Thus Holinshed :

“ —himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill-faring briganders, such as no man should weene that they would vouchsafe to have put upon their backes, except that some sudden necessitie had constreined them.”

STEEVENS.

482. ————*the earth a christian* ;] Here the quarto adds :

Look you, my lord-mayor.

This hemistich I have inserted in the following speech of Buckingham, to which I believe it originally belonged ; as without it we meet with an imperfect verse.

E

Well,

Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor
That ever lived.

Would you imagine, &c. STEEVENS.

532. ———*put to death a citizen,*] This person was
one Walker, a substantial citizen and grocer at the
Crown in Cheapside. GREY.

539. ———*his ranging eye,*——] Thus the modern
editors. The folio reads—*raging*—the quartos—*lust-*
ful. STEEVENS.

560. This *Pinker* or *Penker* was provincial of the
Augustine friars. See *Speed*. STEEVENS.

568. ———*read o'er in Paul's.*] The substance of
this speech is from Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 16. "Nowe
was thys proclamation made within twoo houres after
that he was beheaded, and it was so curiously indyted,
and so fayre writyen in parchement, in a fayre sette
hande, and therewith of itselfe so long a processe,
that every chyld might perceyve that it was prepared
and studyed before (and as some men thought, by
Catesby), for all the tyme betwene his death and the
proclamacion coulde scant have sufficed unto the bare
wrytyng alone," &c. STEEVENS.

579. ————*seen in thought.*] That is, seen in si-
lence, without notice or detection. JOHNSON.

584. ————*lady Lucy,*] The king had been fa-
miliar with this lady before his marriage, to obstruct
which his mother alleged a pre-contract between
them: "Whereupon, says the historian, dame Eli-
zabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she was by the
kyng hys mother, and many other, put in good com-
fort

fort to affirme that she was assured to the kynge; yet when she was solempany sworne to say the truth, she confessed she was never ensured. Howbeit, she sayd his grace spake suche loving woordes to her, that she verily hoped that he would have married her; and that yf such kynde woordes had not bene, she woulde never have shewed such kindnesse to him to lette hym so kyndely gette her wyth chylde."

Hall, Edw. V. fol. 19.

REMARKS.

623. ——intend *some fear* ;] One of the ancient senses of to *intend* was to *pretend*. So, in sc. v. of this act :

Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,

Intending deep suspicion.

STEEVENS.

631. *As I can say, nay to thee,*] Buckingham is to plead for the citizens; and *if* (says Richard) *you speak for them as plausibly as I in my own person, or for my own purposes, shall seem to deny your suit, there is no doubt but we shall bring all to a happy issue.*

STEEVENS.

654. ——to engross——] To fatten; to pamper.

JOHNSON.

673. ——two Bishops.] "At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to them, but in a galary over them, with a bishop on every hande of hym, where thei beneth might se hym and speke to hym, as thoughe he woulde not yet come nere them til he wist what they meante, &c." *Hall's Chronicle.*

FARMER.

706. *And almost shoulder'd in the swallowing gulph
Of dark forgetfulness———]* So, in the
Baron's Wars, by Drayton, Canto I:

“Stoutly t' affront and *shoulder* in debate.”

STEEVENS.

Shoulder'd is, Not, thrust in by the shoulders, but,
immersed *up to the shoulders*.

So, in *Othello*:

“*Steep* me in poverty *to the very lips*.”

MALONE.

708. *Which to recure,*] *To recure* is to *recover*.
This word is frequently used by Spenser; and both as
a verb and a substantive in Lylly's *Endymion*, 1591.

STEEVENS.

744. *And much I need to help you,—]* And I want
much of the ability requisite to give you help, if help
were needed.

JOHNSON.

767. ——*loath'd bigamy:*] *Bigamy*, by a canon of
the council of Lyons, A. D. 1274, (adopted in England
by a statute in 4 Edw. I.) was made unlawful and
infamous. It differed from *polygamy*, or having two
wives at once; as it consisted in either marrying two
virgins successively, or once marrying a widow.

BLACKSTONE.

789. ——*effeminate remorse,*] *i. e.* pity.

STEEVENS.

ACT IV.

Line 1. *WHO meets us here?—my niece Plantagenet,
Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster?]*

Here is a manifest intimation that the dutchess of Gloster leads in somebody in her hand; but there is no direction marked in any of the copies, from which we can learn who it is. I have ventured to guess it must be Clarence's young daughter. The old dutchess of York calls her *niece*, i. e. grand-daughter; as grand-children are frequently called *nephews*.

THEOBALD.

28. *I may not leave it so;]* That is, *I may not so resign my office*, which you offer to take on you at your peril.

JOHNSON.

62. *Were red-hot steel, to seer me to the brain!]* She seems to allude to the ancient mode of punishing a regicide, viz. by placing a crown of iron heated red-hot, upon his head. In the *Tragedy of Hoffman*, 1631, this punishment is introduced:

“Fix on thy master's head my *burning crown*.”

Again:

“And wear his crown made hot with flaming fire.”

“Bring forth the *burning crown* there.”

Again:

“——was adjudg'd

“To have his head *scar'd* with a *burning crown*.”

In some of the monkish accounts of a place of future torment, a *burning crown* is appropriated to those who deprived any lawful monarch of his kingdom.

STEEVENS.

84. *For never yet one hour in his bed*] *Hour* is here, as in many other places, used by Shakspeare as a dissyllable.

MALONE.

86. *But with his timorous dreams*——] It is recorded by Polydore Virgil, that Richard was frequently disturbed by terrible dreams: this is therefore no fiction.

JOHNSON.

98. ————*of teen.*] *Teen* is sorrow. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“And yet to my *teen* be it spoken,” &c.

Again, in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606:

“Flies have their spleen, each silly ant his *teens*.”

STEEVENS.

103. *Rude ragged nurse! old sullen play-fellow*] To call the Tower *nurse* and *play-fellow* is very harsh: perhaps part of this speech is addressed to the Tower, and part to the lieutenant.

JOHNSON.

105. *So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell*] Hither the third act should be extended, and here it very properly ends with a pause of action.

JOHNSON.

113. *Ah, Buckingham, now do I play the touch,*] To *play the touch*, is to represent the touchstone.

So, in the 16th Song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*:

“With alabaster, *tuch*, and porphyry adorn'd.”

Again,

Again, in the epistle of *Mary the French Queen* to *Charles Brandon*, by Drayton :

“ Before mine eye, like *touch*, thy shape did prove.”

Again, in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, B. I. c. iii :

“ Though true as *touch*, though daughter of a king.”

STEEVENS.

133. ————*see, he gnaws his lip.*] Several of our ancient historians observe, that this was an accustomed action of Richard, whether he was pensive or angry.

STEEVENS.

135. *And unrespective boys :—*] *Unrespective* is inattentive, taking no notice, inconsiderate.

So, in Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1599 :

“ When dissolute impiety possess'd

“ The *unrespective* minds of prince and people.”

STEEVENS.

141. ————*close exploit*———] Is secret act.

JOHNSON.

149. ————*witty*———] In this place signifies *judicious* or cunning. A *wit* was not at this time employed to signify a man of fancy, but was used for wisdom or judgment. So, in Daniel's *Cleopatra*, 1599 :

“ Although unwise to live, had *wit* to die.”

Again :

“ And at her feet do *witty serpents* move.”

One of Ben Jonson's *Masques*.

STEEVENS.

170. ————*But I am in*

So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin.]

The

The same reflections occur in *Macbeth* :

“ *I am in blood*

“ *Step'd in so far, that should I wade no more,*

“ *Returning were as tedious,*” &c.

Again :

“ *Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill.*”

STEEVENS.

173. *Is thy name—Tyrrel?*] It seems, that a late editor (who boasts much of his fidelity in “marking the places of action, both general and particular, and supplying scenical directions”), throughout this scene, has left king Richard *on his throne* ; whereas he might have learnt, from the following passage in Sir John Harrington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, that the monarch appeared, during the present interview with Tyrrel, on an *elevation of much less dignity*. “The best part (says Sir John) of our chronicles, in all men's opinions, is that of Richard the third, written as I have heard by Moorton, but as most suppose, by that worthy and incorrupt magistrate Sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, where it is said, how the king was devising with *Teril* to have his nephews privily murdered ; and it is added, *he was then sitting on a draught* ; a fit carpet for such a counsel.” See likewise *Holinshed*, Vol. II. p. 735.

STEEVENS.

205. *A king!—perhaps—*] From hence to the words, *Thou troublest me, I am not in the vein*—have been left out ever since the first editions, but I like them well enough to replace them.

POPE.

The

The allusions to the plays of *Henry VI.* are no weak proofs of the authenticity of these disputed pieces.

JOHNSON.

223. *Because that, like a Jack, &c.*] An image, like those at Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, and at the market-houses at several towns in this kingdom, was usually called a *Jack of the clock-house*. See Cowley's *Discourse on the Government of Oliver Cromwell*. Richard resembles Buckingham to one of those automations, and bids him not suspend the stroke on the clock-bell, but strike, that the hour may be past, and himself be at liberty to pursue his meditations.

Sir J. HAWKINS.

So, in *The Fleire*, a comedy, 1610 :—"their tongues are, like a *Jack o' the clock*, still in labour."

Again, in *The Coxcomb*, by Beaumont and Fletcher :

"——Is this your *Jack o' the clock-house*?

"Will you *strike*, sir?"

Again, in a pamphlet by Decker, called the *Gul's Horn-booke*, 1609 : "——but howsoever, if Powles *Jacks* be once up with their elbowes, and quarrelling to strike eleven, as soon as ever the clock has parted them, and ended the fray with his hammer, let not the duke's gallery conteyne you any longer."

In *Lantern and Candle-light*, or the *Belman's Second Night-Walk*, &c. by Decker, is a passage "of a new and cunning drawing of money from gentlemen," which may tend to a somewhat different explanation.

"There is another fraternitie of wandring pilgrims, who merrily call themselves *Jacks of the Clock-house*.

The

The *jacks* of a clock-house goes upon screws, and his office is to do nothing but *strike*: so does this noise (for they walke up and down like fiddlers) travaile with motions, and whatever their motions get them, is called *striking*."

Perhaps these figures were called *Jacks*, because the engines of that name which turn the spit, were anciently ornamented with such a puppet. In the *Gentlemen Usher*, a comedy by Chapman, 1606, they are alluding to a roasting *Jack*; and a man says:

"—as in that quaint engine you have seen
 " *A little man in shreds* stand at the winder,
 " And seem to put all things in act about him,
 " Lifting and pulling with a mighty stir,
 " Yet adds no force to it, nor nothing does."

STEEVENS.

A Jack with such a figure as Chapman hath described was for many years exhibited, as a sign, at the door of a White-Smith's shop in the narrowest part of the Strand.

HENLEY.

240. *O thus, quoth Dighton, lay the gentle babes,—
 Thus, thus, quoth Forrest, girdling one ano-*
ther

Within their alabaster innocent arms:—

A book of prayers on their pillow lay;—] These circumstances were probably adopted from the old song of *The most cruel Murther of Edward V. &c.* in *The Golden Garden of Princely Delight*. The thirteenth edition of this collection was published in 1690:

" When

“ When these sweet children thus were laid in
bed,

“ And to the Lord their hearty prayers had said,

“ Sweet slumbring sleep then closing up their
eyes,

“ Each folded in the other’s arms then lyes.”

It must be owned, however, that there is nothing to assist us in ascertaining the exact date of this and many others of our ancient ballads. STEEVENS.

270. *The son of Clarence have I pen’d up close ;]*
In Sheriff Hutton castle : where he remained till the coming of Henry VII. who immediately after the battle of Bosworth sent him to the Tower, and some few years after, most treacherously and barbarously put him to death ; being, from a total want of education and commerce with mankind, so ignorant, that he could not, according to *Hall*, discern a goose from a capon. With this unfortunate young nobleman ended the male line of the illustrious house of Plantagenet. REMARKS.

271. *His daughter meanly have I match’d in marriage ;]*
To Sir Richard Pole, knt. This lady, at seventy years of age, without any legal process, and for no crime but her relation to the crown, was beheaded in the Tower by that sanguinary tyrant Henry VIII. Her son, lord Montague, had been put to death a few years before, in the same manner, and for the same crime ; and the famous Cardinal Pole, another of her children, only escaped the fate of his mother,
and

and brother, by keeping out of the butcher's reach.

REMARKS.

285. ———fearful commenting

Is leaden servitor——] Timorous thought and cautious disquisition are the dull attendants on delay. JOHNSON.

292. ———begins to mellow, &c.] The same thought occurs in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602:

“——now is his fate grown mellow,

“Instant to fall into the rotten jaws

“Of chap-fall'n death.”

STEEVENS.

296. —dire induction——] *Induction* is preface, introduction, first part. It is so used by Sackville in our author's time. JOHNSON.

306. ———say, *that right for right*] *Right for right*, is justice answering to the claims of justice. So, in this play:

——*That forehead*

Where should be branded, if that right were right.— JOHNSON.

327. —signiory,] For seniority. JOHNSON.

So, in Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1615, p. 149:

“——the son of Edmund, the son of Edward the seignior, the son of Alured,” &c. STEEVENS.

344. *That reigns*, &c.] This and the preceding line have been omitted by all the modern editors, Rowe excepted. STEEVENS.

349. *And makes her pue-fellow*——] *Pue-fellow* seems to be companion. We have now a new phrase, nearly equivalent,

equivalent, by which we say of persons in the same difficulties, that they are in *the same box*. JOHNSON.

Pue-fellow is a word yet in use. Sir J. HAWKINS.

I find the word in *Northward Hoe*, a comedy, by Decker and Webster, 1607 :

“He would make him *pue-fellow* with a lord’s steward at least.”

Again, in *Westward-Hoe*, by Decker and Webster, 1606 :

“—being both my scholars, and your honest *pue-fellows*.” STEEVENS.

356. *Young York he is but boot,—*] *Boot* is that which is thrown in to mend a purchase. JOHNSON.

360. *The adulterate Hastings,—*] I believe Shakspeare wrote :

The adulterer Hastings,——— WARBURTON.

Adulterate is right. We say *metals* are *adulterate*; and *adulterate* sometimes means the same as *adulterer*. In either sense, on this occasion, the epithet will suit. Hastings was *adulterate*, as Margaret had try’d his friendship and found it faithless; he was an *adulterer*, as he cohabited with Jane Shore during the life of her husband. So, the Ghost in *Hamlet*, speaking of the King, says :

“—that incestuous, that *adulterate* beast.”

STEEVENS.

376. *The flattering index of a direful pageant,*] *Pageants* are dumb shews, and the poet meant to allude to one of these, the index of which promised a happier conclusion. The pageants then displayed on

F

publick

publick occasions were generally preceded by a brief account of the order in which the characters were to walk. These indexes were distributed among the spectators, that they might understand the meaning of such allegorical stuff as was usually exhibited. The index of every book was anciently placed before the beginning of it. STEEVENS.

379. ———a *garish* flag,

To be the aim of every dangerous shot ;] Alluding to the dangerous situation of those persons to whose care the standards of armies were intrusted.

STEEVENS.

396. ———wheel'd *about*,] Thus the quartos. The folio—*whirl'd about*. STEEVENS.

418. *Windy attorneys* to their client woes,] In former editions this line was read thus :

Windy attorneys to your client's woes.

The emendation is Sir Thomas Hanmer's.

JOHNSON.

449. ———a touch of your condition,] A *spice* or *particle* of your temper or disposition. JOHNSON.

So, in Chapman's translation of the 24th *Iliad* :

“ ———his cold blood embrac'd a fiery touch

“ Of anger,” &c.

STEEVENS.

467. *That ever grac'd me*——] To *grace* seems here to mean the same as to *bless*, to make happy. So, *gracious* is kind, and *graces* are favours.

JOHNSON.

468. ———*Humphry Houre*,—] This may probably be an allusion to some affair of gallantry of which

the dutchess had been suspected. I cannot find the name in Holinshed. Surely the poet's fondness for a quibble has not induced him at once to personify and christen that *hour* of the day which summon'd his mother to breakfast.

So, in *The Wit of a Woman*, 1592 :

“Gentlemen, time makes us brief : our old mistress, *Houre*, is at hand.”

The common cant phrase of *dining with duke Humphrey*, I have never yet heard satisfactorily explained. It appears, however, from a satirical pamphlet called the *Guls Horn-booke*, 1609, written by T. Decker, that in the ancient church of St. Paul, one of the ailes was called *Duke Humphrey's Walk*, in which those who had no means of procuring a dinner, affected to loiter. Decker concludes his fourth chapter thus : “By this I imagine you have walked your bellyful, and thereupon being weary, or (which is rather, I beleeve) being most gentleman-like, hungry, it is fit that as I brought you unto the *duke*, so (because he followes the fashion of great men in *keeping no house*, and that therefore you must go *seeke your dinner*) suffer me to take you by the hand and leade you into an ordinary.” The title of this chapter is, “How a gallant should behave himself in *Powles Walkes*.”

Hall, in the 7th *Satire*, B. III. seems to confirm this interpretation :

“’Tis Ruffio : Trow’st thou where he din’d to-day ?

“In sooth I saw him sit with *duke Humfray* :

F ij

“Manie

“ Manie good welcoms, and much gratis cheere,
 “ Keepes he for everie stragling cavaliere ;
 “ An open house haunted with greate resort,
 “ *Long service mixt with musicall disport,*” &c.

Hall's *Satires*, Edit. 1602, p. 60.

See likewise *Foure Letters* and certain *Sonnets*, by Gabriel Harvey, 1592 :

“ ———to seeke his dinner in Poules with *duke Humphrey* : to licke dishes, to be a beggar.”

Again, in the *Return of the Knight of the Post*, &c. by Nash, 1606 : “ —in the end comming into Poules, to behold the old *duke and his guests*,” &c.

Again, in *A wonderful, strange, and miraculous Prognostication, for this Year*, &c. 1591, by Nash : “ —sundry fellowes in their silkes shall be appointed to keepe *duke Humfrye* company in Poules, because they know not where to get their dinners abroad.”

If it be objected that *duke Humphrey* was buried at St. Albans, let it likewise be remembered that cenotaphs were not uncommon. STEEVENS.

490. *Shame serves thy life*,——] To *serve* is to accompany, servants being near the persons of their masters. JOHNSON.

493. *Stay, madam*,——] On this dialogue it is not necessary to bestow much criticism : part of it is ridiculous, and the whole improbable. JOHNSON.

506. ———*she is of royal blood*.] The folio reads—*she is a royal princess*. STEEVENS.

510. *Lo, at their births*——] Perhaps we should read—*No, at their births*—— TYRWHITT.

522. 'Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,]
This conceit seems to have been a great favourite of
Shakspeare. We meet with it more than once. In
K. Henry IV. Part II :

“Thou hid'st a thousand daggers in thy thoughts,
“Which thou hast whetted on thy stony heart,
“To stab,” &c.

Again, in the *Merchant of Venice* :

“Not on thy soal, but on thy soul, harsh Jew,
“Thou mak'st thy knife keen———”

STEEVENS.

539. *The high imperial type—*] *Type* is exhibition,
shew, display. JOHNSON.

The canopy placed over a pulpit is still called by
architects a *type*. It is, I apprehend, in a similar
sense that the word is here used. HENLEY.

542. *Canst thou demise—*] To *demise* is to *grant*,
from *demittere*, to devolve a right from one to another.

STEEVENS.

545. *So in the Lethe of thy angry soul*

Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs,]

So, in *King Henry IV. Part II* :

“May this be wash'd in Lethe, and forgotten.”

STEEVENS.

571. ——*as sometime Margaret]* Here is another
reference to the plays of *Henry VI.* JOHNSON.

587. *Nay, then indeed, she cannot choose, but hate*
thee,] The sense seems to require that we should
read,

—————*but love thee,*
ironically. TYRWHITT.

588. ———*bloody spoil.*] *Spoil* is waste, havock.

JOHNSON.

602. ———*bid like sorrow.*] *Bid* is in the past tense from *bide*. JOHNSON.

644. ———*which the king's King forbids.*] Alluding to the prohibition in the Levitical law. See Leviticus xviii. 14. GREY.

648. *But how long shall that title, ever, last?*] Young has borrowed this thought in his *Universal Passion* :

“But say, my all, my mistress, and my friend,

“What day next week th’ eternity shall end?”

STEEVENS.

653. ———*am her subject* low.] Thus the folio. The quartos read :

—————*her subject* love. STEEVENS.

662. *Harp not, &c.*] In the regulation of these short pieces I have followed the first and second quartos. STEEVENS.

681. ———*with* heaven.] The quarto reads—by *him*. The folio—with *him*. STEEVENS.

684. ———*by him.*] Thus all the old copies. The modern ones read :

—————*with* heaven.

I have restored the old reading, because *him* (the oblique case of *he*) was anciently used for *it*, in a neutral sense. STEEVENS.

Shakspeare,

Shakspeare, I have no doubt, wrote *by him* in both places. This appears from the first words of this speech, which begun originally :

God's wrong is most of all.

The players probably substituted *Heaven* instead of the sacred name, in this and many other places, after the passing of the stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 21. ; and having changed—*God's wrong*—to *Heaven's wrong*, it became necessary to read, “an oath *with Heaven*,” instead of “an oath *by him*.” MALONE.

688. *Which now, two tender, &c.]* Mr. Roderick observes, that the word *two* is without any force, and would read :

Which now too tender, &c. STEEVENS.

728. *——in that nest of spicery,——]* Alluding to the phoenix. STEEVENS.

744. *Some light-foot friend post to the duke——]* Richard's precipitation and confusion is in this scene very happily represented by inconsistent orders, and sudden variations of opinion. JOHNSON.

770. *——white-liver'd runagate,]* This epithet, descriptive of cowardice, is not peculiar to Shakspeare. Stephen Gosson in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, speaking of the Helots, says,

“Leave those precepts to the *white-livered*
Hylotes.” STEEVENS.

777. *What heir of York——]* *i. e.* What son of Richard duke of York? REMARKS.

811. *——more competitor;]* That is, more opponents. JOHNSON

847. *Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me:—*] The person, who is called Sir Christopher here, and who has been styled so in the *Dramatis Personæ* of all the impressions, I find by the chronicles to have been Christopher Urswick, a bachelor in divinity; and chaplain to the countess of Richmond, who had intermarried with the lord Stanley. This priest, the history tells us, frequently went backwards and forwards, unsuspected, on messages betwixt the countess of Richmond, and her husband, and the young earl of Richmond, whilst he was preparing to make his descent on England. THEOBALD.

Dr. Johnson has observed, that *Sir* was anciently a title assumed by graduates. This the late Mr. Guthrie disputes; and says, it was a title sold by the pope's legates, &c. that his holiness might be on the same footing with the king. STEEVENS.

In the *Scornfull Lady* of Fletcher, Welford says to Sir Roger, the curate, "I acknowledge you to be your *art's master*."—"I am but a *bachelor of art*, sir," replies Sir Roger. Mr. Guthrie would have done well to have informed us, how Sir Roger could possibly have *bought* his *title* of the pope's nuncio; when, as Abigail tells us, he had only "twenty nobles *de claro*, besides his *pigges in posse*." FARMER.

ACT V.

Line 1. *WILL not king Richard let me speak with him?*] The reason why the duke of Buckingham solicited an interview with the king, is explained in *King Henry VIII.* act i.

“ ———I would have play’d

“ The part my father meant to act upon

“ The usurper Richard ; who, being at Salisbury,

“ Made suit to come in his presence ; which, if granted,

“ As he made semblance of his duty, would

“ Have put his knife into him.” STEEVENS.

See also Hall’s Chronicle, Richard III. fo. 16.

REED.

19. *Is the determin’d respite of my wrongs.*] Hanmer has rightly explained it, the time to which the punishment of his wrongs was *respited*.

Wrongs in this line means *wrongs* done, or injurious practices. JOHNSON.

29. ———*blame the due of blame.*] This scene should, in my opinion, be added to the foregoing act, so the fourth act will have a more full and striking conclusion, and the fifth act will comprise the business of the important day, which put an end to the competition of York and Lancaster. Some of the quarto editions are not divided into acts, and it is probable, that this and many other plays were left by the author in

in one unbroken continuity, and afterwards distributed by chance, or what seems to have been a guide very little better, by the judgment or caprice of the first editors.

JOHNSON.

39. ——— *embowell'd bosoms*,——] Exenterated; ripped up: alluding, perhaps, to the Promethean vulture; or, more probably, to the sentence pronounced in the English courts against traitors, by which they are condemned to be hanged, *drawn*, that is, *embowelled*, and quartered.

JOHNSON.

Drawn, in the sentence pronounced upon traitors only, signifies to be *drawn by the heels or on a hurdle* from the prison to the place of execution. So, Dr. Johnson has properly expounded it in *Measure for Measure*, act ii. So, Holinshed in the year 1569, and Stowe's *Chronicle*, edit. 1614, p. 162, 171, 418, 763, 766. Sometimes our historians use a colloquial inaccuracy of expression in writing, hanged, *drawn*, and quarter'd; but they often express it—*drawn*, hanged, and quartered; and sometimes they add—bowelled, or his bowels taken out, which would be tautology, if the same thing was implied in the word *drawn*.

TOLLET.

Drawn in the sense of *embowelled*, is never used but in speaking of a *fowl*. It is true, *embowelling* is also part of the sentence in high treason, but in order of time it comes after *drawing* and *hanging*.

BLACKSTONE.

46. ——— *conscience is a thousand swords*,] Alluding to the old adage, "*Conscientia mille testes*."

BLACKSTONE.

70. ——*sound direction* :—] True judgment ; tried military skill. JOHNSON.

77. *Give me some ink and paper*—] I have placed these lines here as they stand in the first editions : the rest place them three speeches before, after the words *Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard* ; interrupting what there follows ; *The earl of Pembroke, &c.* I think them more naturally introduced here, when he is retiring to his tent ; and considering what he has to do that night. POPE.

I have followed the folio, which, of this play, is by far the most correct copy. I do not find myself much influenced by Mr. Pope's remark. STEEVENS.

120. ——*Give me a watch* :—] A *watch* has many significations, but I should believe that it means in this place not a centinel, which would be regularly placed at the king's tent ; nor an instrument to measure time, which was not used in that age ; but a watch-light, a candle to burn by him ; the light that afterwards *burnt blue* ; yet a few lines after, he says :

Bid my guard watch,

which leaves it doubtful whether *watch* is not here a sentinel. JOHNSON.

A *watch*, i. e. guard, would certainly be placed about a royal tent, without any request of the king concerning it.

I believe, therefore, that particular kind of candle is here meant, which was anciently called a *watch*, because, being marked out into sections, each of which
was

was a certain portion of time in burning, it supplied the place of the more modern instrument by which we measure the hours. I have seen these candles represented with great nicety in some of the pictures of Albert Durer.

Barret, in his *Alvearie*, 1580, mentions *watching* lamps or candles. So, in *Love in a Maze*, 1632:

“——slept always with a *watching* candle.”

Again, in *The Noble Soldier*, 1634:

“Beauty was turn’d into a *watching-candle* that went out stinking.”

Again, in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606:

“Sit now immur’d within their private cells,

“And drink a long lank *watching* candle’s smoke.”

Again, in *Albumazar*, 1610:

“Sit up all night like a *watching* candle.”

STEEVENS.

Lord Bacon mentions a species of light called an *all-night*, which is a wick set in the middle of a large cake of wax.

JOHNSON.

121. *Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.*]

So, in Holinshed, p. 754:

“——he was mounted on a great *white courser*,”

&c.

STEEVENS.

122. *Look that my staves be sound,—*] *Staves* are the wood of the lances.

JOHNSON.

As it was usual to carry more lances than one into the field, the lightness of them was an object of consequence. *Hall* informs us, that at the justs in honour of

of the marriage of Mary, the younger sister of king Henry VIII. with the king of France, that “a gentleman called Anthony Bownarne came into the feld all armed, and on his body brought in sight x speres, that is to wyt, ii speres set in every styroppe forward, and under every thigh ii speres upwarde, and under his left arme was one spere backward, and the 10th in his hand,” &c. STEEVENS.

127. *Much about cock-shut time*,——] Ben Jonson uses the same expression in one of his entertainments.

“For you would not yesternight,

“Kiss him in the *cock-shut* light.”

Again, in the *Widow*, by B. Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, 1652 :

“Come away then : a fine *cockshut* evening,”

Again :

“In the twilight, *cockshut* light.”

Arden of Feversham, 1592.

In the *Treatyse of Fyshynge with the Angle*, by dame Julyana Bernes, 1496, among the directions to make a fishing rod is the following : “Take thenne and frette him faste with a *cokeshote corde*,” &c. but I cannot intepret the word. STEEVENS.

Cock-shut time,] *i. e.* twilight. In Mr. Whalley’s note upon *Ben Jonson*, Vol. V. p. 204. “*Cockshut* is said to be a net to catch woodcocks ; and as the time of taking them in this manner is in the twilight, either after sun-set or before its rising, *cockshut* light may very properly express the evening or the morning twilight.” The particular form of such a net, and

the manner of using it, is delineated and described in *Dictionary Rusticum*, 2 vols. 8vo. 3d edit. 1726, under the word *cock-roads*. It is the custom of the woodcock to lie close all day, and towards evening he takes wing, which act of flight might anciently be termed his *shoot* or *shot*. So, the ballast of a ship is said to *shoot*, when it runs from one side to the other. This etymology gives us, perhaps, the original signification of the word, without any recourse for it to the name of a net, which might receive its denomination from the time of the day, or from the occasion on which it was used; for I believe there was a net which was called a *cock-shot*. Holinshed's *Description of Britain*, p. 110, calls a stone which naturally has a hole in it, "an apt *cocke-shot* for the devil to run through;" which, I apprehend, alludes to the resemblance of the hole in the stone to the meshes of a net. TOLLET.

Mr. Tollet's opinion may be supported by the following passage in a little metrical performance, called, *No Whippinge nor Trippinge: but a kinde friendly Snippinge*, 1601:

"A silly honest creature may do well

"To watch a *cocke-shoote*, or a limed bush."

STEEVENS.

I must support my interpretation against Mr. Tollet. He in part admits, and then proceeds to overthrow it. And I will support it by the very instance Mr. Steevens adduced in his favour. The ballast of a ship may be said to *shoot*; as we now say, to *shoot* coals; or corn out of a sack; but it was never yet
said

said that a woodcock *shoots*, when he takes his evening flight. *Cocke-shoote*, in the passage you cite, is certainly a substantive, and the accusative case after the verb *watch*, which is confirmed by what follows, *or a limed bush*. And when the *cockshut net* is fixed, a person always stands by to watch and manage it. A similar expression is in Hall's Satires:

“ *To watch a sinking cock, upon the shore—*

WHALLEY.

Mr. Whalley's assertion—“it was never yet said that a wood-cock *shoots* when he takes his evening flight,”—is not only a very confident one, but also an assumption of the point in dispute. Yet, exclusive of this, is it not far more likely that an epithet to ascertain a given season of the evening should have been adopted, rather from the natural and discriminating property of a singular bird, than the casual application of a net to catch it? What would Mr. Whalley think of him who should aver, that *owl-hooping* TIME was so distinguished, not from the whooping of the owl itself, but of some cottager, who might chance to notice its nocturnal excursion?—The verb to *shoot*, which is often used to express a sudden or swift transition from one place to another, is as proper to the peculiar flight of the wood-cock, as to *tower* is to the eagle's; to *skim*, to the swallow's; or to *mount*, to the lark's, and, had not the rhyme prevented, would have been employed, perhaps by Gay, in the following line:

“ Soon as in doubtful day the wood-cock *flies*.”

G i j

Mr.

Mr. Whalley, however, by adding the word *net* after *cockshut*, hath virtually renounced the matter in contest. HENLEY.

130. *I have not that alacrity of spirit, &c.]* So, in Holinshed, p. 775: “—not using the alacritie of mirth and mind and countenance, as he was accustomed to doo before he came toward the battell.”

STEEVENS.

141. ———*by attorney,*——] By deputation.

JOHNSON.

148. ———*mortal staring war.]* Thus the old copies. I suppose by *staring war* is meant—*war that looks big.*

STEEVENS.

I suspect the poet wrote—*mortal scaring war.*

MALONE.

149. *I, as I may,*——

With best advantage will deceive the time,] I will take the best opportunity to elude the dangers of this conjuncture. JOHNSON.

155. ———*The leisure, and the fearful time*

Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love,] We have still a phrase equivalent to this, however harsh it may seem, “*I would do this, if leisure would permit,*” where *leisure*, as in this passage, stands for *want of leisure*. So, again:

“———More than I have said

“The *leisure* and enforcement of the time

“Forbids to dwell upon——” JOHNSON.

163. ———*peize me down to-morrow,]* Thus the old copies.

copies. The modern editions read—*poize*. To *peize*, i. e. to *weigh down*, from *peser*, French.

I meet with the word in the old play of *The Raigne of King Edward the Third*, 1596 :

“ And *peize* their deeds with heavy weight of lead.”

Again, in *All for Money*, 1574 :

“ Then if you *counterpeaze* me learning with money.”

See notes on *The Merchant of Venice*, act iii. sc. 2.

STEEVENS.

168. —*thy bruising-irons*.——] The allusion is to the ancient mace. HENLEY.

182. *Enter the Ghost, &c.*] This circumstance is likewise found in the old book first called the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which was afterwards published under the title of the *Falles of unfortunate Princes*.

“ *As in my tent on slumbring bed I lie,*

“ *Horrid aspects appear'd unto mine eye :*

“ *I thought that all those murder'd ghosts, whom I*

“ *By death had sent to their untimely grave,*

“ *With baleful noise about my tent did crye,*

“ *And of the heavens, with sad complaint, did*
crave

“ *That they on guilty wretch might vengeance have.*”

His terror on waking is likewise very forcibly described.

Again, Drayton in the 22d Song of his *Polyolbion* :

“ Where to the guilty king, the black forerunning
night,

“ Appear the dreadful ghosts of *Henry* and his
son,

“ Of his own brother *George*, and his *two nephews*,
done

“ Most cruelly to death; and of his *wife*, and
friend

“ Lord *Hastings*, with pale hands prepar'd as
they would rend

“ Him piece-meal; at which oft he roareth in his
sleep.”

It is not unpleasant to trace the progress of a poetical idea. Some of our oldest historians had informed us that king Richard was much disturbed in his dreams. The author of a metrical legend, who follows next in succession, proceeds to tell us the quality of these ominous visions. A poet who takes up the story goes further, and acquaints us with the names of those who are supposed to have appeared in them; and last of all comes the dramattick writer, who brings the phantoms, speaking in their particular characters, on the stage. STEEVENS.

The account given by Hall, in his Chronicle, of Richard's dream, the night before the battle of Bosworth (which is translated literally from Polydore Virgil) is as follows: “ The fame went, that he had, the same night, a dreadful and a terrible dreame: for it seemed to hym beyng aslepe, that he saw *diverse ymages lyke terrible develles*, whyche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyete or reste.”

The

The same words are also repeated in Holinshed's Chronicle. MALONE.

183. —*punched*—] I wish to read *puncted*; punched is ludicrous, and the former is justified by Hall's Chronicle, Richard III. "Her breste she *puncted*."

HENDERSON.

187. *Harry, that prophesy'd thou should'st be king,*] This prophecy, to which this allusion is made, was uttered in one of the parts of *Henry the Sixth*.

JOHNSON.

190. ———*with fulsome wine,*] *Fulsome* signifies here, as in many other places, *rich, unctuous*. The wine in which the body of Clarence was thrown, was *Malmsey*.

MALONE.

210. *Let us be laid within thy bosom, Richard,*] This is a poor feeble reading. I have restored from the elder quarto, published in 1597, which Mr. Pope doth not pretend to have seen :

Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard.

This corresponds with what is said in the line immediately following :

And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death!

THEOBALD.

231. *I dy'd for hope,—*] i. e. *I died for only having hoped to give you that assistance*, which I never had it in my power to afford you in reality. STEEVENS.

It may, however, be observed, that *fore* or *for*, when joined to a verb, had anciently a negative signification. So, in *Macbeth* :

"——— He shall live a man *forbid*."

As to *bid* was to pray, so to *forbid* had the meaning directly opposite, *i. e.* to *curse*. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, to *forespeak* is to *speak against*. In *Hamlet*, and the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, to *fordo* is the very reverse of to *do*. *Holpen* or *holp* is the old participle passive of *help*, and is used in *Macbeth*:

“His great love, sharp as his spur, hath *holp*
him

“To his home before us.”

Instead of *for hope*, we may therefore read *forholpe*, which would mean *unaided*, *abandon'd*, *deserted*, *unhelp'd*, which was the real misfortune of the duke of Buckingham. The word *holp* has occurred likewise in this play:

“Let him thank me that *holp* to send him
thither.”

Again, in *Coriolanus*:

“Have *holp* to make this rescue.” STEEVENS.

Perhaps we should read,

I dy'd *fore done*, &c.

So in *Hamlet*, act v.

Fore do its own life. TYRWHITT.

235. Give me another horse——] There is in this, as in many of our author's speeches of passion, something very trifling, and something very striking. Richard's debate, whether he should quarrel with himself, is too long continued, but the subsequent exaggeration of his crimes is truly tragical.

JOHNSON.

237.

237. *O coward conscience,—*] This is extremely fine. The speaker had entirely got the better of his *conscience*, and banished it from all his *waking* thoughts. But it takes advantage of his sleep, and frights him in his dreams. With greater elegance therefore he is made to call it *coward conscience*, which dares not encounter him while he is himself awake, and his faculties entire; but takes advantage of reason being off its guard, and the powers of the soul dissolved in sleep. But the players, amongst their other innumerable absurdities in the representation of this tragedy, make Richard say, instead of *O coward conscience*, *O tyrant conscience!* whereby not only a great beauty is lost, but a great blunder committed. For Richard had entirely got the better of his *conscience*; which could, on no account, therefore, be said to play the tyrant with him. WARBURTON.

238. *The lights burn blue.—*] So, in Lilly's *Galathea*, 1592: "I thought there was some *spirit* in it because it burnt so *blue*; for my mother would often tell me when the *candle burnt blue*, there was some ill *spirit* in the house." It was anciently supposed that fire was a preservative against evil spirits; "because," says Nash (in *Pierce Penniless's Supplications to the Devil*, 1595), "when any spirit appeareth, the lights by little and little goe out as it were of their own accord, and the *takers* are by degrees extinguished." The *takers* are the spirits who blast or *take*. So, in *King Lear*:

"—strike

“——strike her young bones,
 “Ye *taking* airs, with lameness!”

STEEVENS.

245. *I love myself.*——] The old copies read—
Alack, I love, &c. STEEVENS.

262. *Methought, the souls, &c.*] These lines stand with so little propriety at the end of this speech, that I cannot but suspect them to be misplaced. Where then shall they be inserted? Perhaps after these words:

Fool, do not flatter. JOHNSON.

307. *One that made means*——] To *make means* was, in Shakspeare's time, always used in an unfavourable sense, and signified—to come at any thing by *indirect practices*. STEEVENS.

309. ——by the foil
Of England's chair,——] Nothing has been, or is still more common, than to put a bright-coloured foil under a cloudy or low-prized stone. The same allusion is common to many writers. So, in a Song published in *England's Helicon*, 1614:

“False stones by *foiles* have many one abus'd.”

STEEVENS.

324. ——the ransom of my bold attempt] The *fine* paid by me, in atonement for my rashness, shall be my dead corpse. JOHNSON.

329. *God, and saint George!*——] *Saint George* was the common cry of the English soldiers when they charged the enemy. The author of the old *Arte of Warre*, printed in the latter-end of queen Elizabeth's reign,

reign, formally enjoins the use of this cry among his military laws, p. 84.

“ *Item*, that all souldiers entring into battaile, assault, skirmish, or other faction of armes, shall have for their common cry and word, *Saint George, forward, or upon them, saint George*, whereby the souldiour is much comforted, and the enemy dismaied by calling to minde the ancient valour of England, which with that name has so often been victorious; and therefore he who, upon any *sinister zeale*, shall *maliciously* omit so fortunate a name, shall be *severely punished* for his obstinate *erroneous* heart, and perverse mind.”

Hence too the humour of the following lines in Marston’s nervous but neglected satires, entitled the *Scourge of Villainie*, printed in 1599. 111. Lib. Sat. viii :

“ A pox upon’t that *Bacchis*’ name should be
 “ The watch-word given to the soldierie.
 “ Goe troupe to field, mount thy obscured fame,
 “ Cry out *Saint George*, invoke thy mistresse’
 name ;

“ Thy *Mistresse* and *Saint George*,” &c.

In Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, that admirable and early ridicule of romance-writing, where the champion *Ralph* is going to attack the *Barber*, or the huge giant *Barboroso*, the burlesque is heightened, when, with much solemnity, and as if a real heroick encounter had been going forward, he cries out, “ *Saint George!* set on before, march squire

and page." Act iii. sc. 1. And afterwards, when the engagement begins, *Ralph* says, " *St. George* for me : " and *Barbaroso*, " *Garagantua* for me."

WARTON.

362. *This, and St. George to boot !—————*] That is, this is the order of our battle, which promises success ; and over and above this, is the protection of our patron saint.

JOHNSON.

To boot is (as I conceive) to help, and not *over and above*.

HAWKINS.

364. *Dickon thy master*] *Diccon* is the ancient abbreviation of *Richard*. In *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575, *Diccon* is the name of the Bedlam. In the words—*bought and sold*, I believe, there is somewhat proverbial. So, in the *Comedy of Errors* :

" It would make a man as mad as a buck, to be
so *bought and sold*."

STEEVENS.

367. *Let not our babbling dreams, &c.*] I suspect these six lines to be an interpolation ; but if *Shakspeare* was really guilty of them in his first draught, he probably intended to leave them out when he substituted the much more proper harangue that follows.

TYRWHITT.

375. *A sort of vagabonds,————*] A sort, that is, a company, a collection. See notes on *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act iii. sc. 2.

JOHNSON.

382. *And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow,*

Long kept in Britaine at our mother's cost ?]

This is spoken by *Richard*, of *Henry* earl of *Richmond* : but they were far from having any common mother, but

England :

England: and the earl of Richmond was not subsisted abroad at the nation's publick charge. During the greatest part of his residence abroad, he was watched and restrained almost like a captive; and subsisted by supplies conveyed from the countess of Richmond, his mother. It seems probable, therefore, that we must read:

Long kept in Bretagne at his mother's cost.

THEOBALD.

Our *mother's cost*?] Mr. Theobald perceives to be wrong: he reads therefore, and all the editors after him:

Long kept in Bretagne at his mother's cost.

But give me leave to transcribe a few more lines from Holinshed, and you will find at once, that Shakspeare had been there before me.

“Ye see further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runnagates be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterprise.—And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welch milksop—brought up by *my moother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine.” p. 759.

Holinshed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler Hall, edit. 1548, fol. 54. but his printer has given us by accident the word *moother* instead of *brother*; as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakspeare.

FARMER.

See a letter of king Richard III. persuading his
H subjects

subjects to resist Henry Tydder, &c. in Fenn's Collection of the *Paston Letters*, Vol. II. p. 318.

HENLEY.

384. *A milk-sop, &c.*] So, in the *Mirror of Magistrates* already quoted :

“ First with our foe-mens captaine to begin,

“ A weake Welch *milksop*, one that I do know

“ Was ne'er before,” &c. STEEVENS.

400. *Amaze the welkin with your broken staves!*] That is, *fright the skies with the shivers of your lances.*

JOHNSON.

So, in *Soliman and Perseda* :

“ Now by the marble face of the *welkin*.”

The tame idea is more tamely expressed in W. Smith's *Palsgrave*, 1613 :

“ Spears flew in splinters half the way to heaven.”

STEEVENS.

407. *Advance our standards, &c.*] So again, in the *Mirror for Magistrates* :

“ Advance then captaines, forward to the fight,

“ Draw forth your swords, each man address his sheeld ;

“ Hence faint conceites, die thoughts of coward flight,

“ To heaven your hearts, to fight your valours yeeld :

“ Behold our foes do brave us in the field.

“ Upon them, friends ; the cause is yours and mine ;

“ Saint George and conquest on our helmes doth shine.”

STEEVENS.

413. *Daring an opposite to every danger;*] Perhaps the poet wrote :

Daring and opposite to every danger.

TYRWHITT.

Perhaps the following passage in Chapman's version of the eighth book of Homer's *Odyssey* may countenance the old reading :

“ ———a most dreadful fight

“ *Daring against him.*”

STEEVENS.

The old reading is probably right. *An opposite* is frequently used by Shakspeare, and the contemporary writers, for *an adversary*. So, in *Twelfth Night* : “ ———your *opposite* hath in him what youth, strength, skill, and wrath, can furnish man withal.” Again : “ ———and his *opposite* the youth, bears in his visage no presage of cruelty.” So, in *The Fawn*, by Marston, 1605 : “ A most protested *opposite* to the match.” The sense then should seem to be, that king Richard enacts wonders, *daring the adversary he meets with to every danger attending single combat.*

MALONE.

In the *Battle of Alcazar*, 1598, the Moor calls out in the same manner :

“ A horse, a horse, villain, a horse !

“ That I may take the river strait, and fly !

“ ———Here is a horse, my lord,

“ As swiftly pac'd as Pegasus.”

This passage in Shakspeare appears to have been imitated by several of the old writers, if not stolen.

Hij

So,

So, Heywood, in the Second Part of his *Iron Age*, 1632 :

“ ———a horse, a horse !

“ Ten kingdoms for a horse to enter Troy !”

STEEVENS.

Marston seems to have imitated this line in his *Satires*, 1599 :

“ A man, a man, a kingdom for a man !”

MALONE.

422. *Five have I slain to-day instead of him :—*] Shakspeare had employed this incident with historical propriety in the First Part of *K. Henry IV.* STEEVENS.

423. *A horse ! a horse ! &c.*] This line is introduced into Marston's *What You Will*, act ii. sc. 1. 4to. 1607 :

“ Ha ! he mounts Chirall on the wings of fame.

“ *A horse ! a horse ! my kingdome for a horse !*

“ Looke thee, I speake play scraps,” &c.

REED.

430. ———and make use of it.] Some old books read :

—————make much of it.

and therefore Mr. Theobald reads so too : but very foolishly. Without doubt Shakspeare himself thus corrected it to

—————make use of it,

Which signifies, don't *abuse* it like the tyrant you have destroyed : whereas the other reading :

—————make much of it,

signifies *be fond of it* ; a very ridiculous moral for the conclusion of the play.

WARBURTON.

Dr.

Dr. Warburton's reading may receive support from a passage in *K. Henry VIII.* where Wolsey is giving advice to Cromwell :

“Neglect him not; *make use* now, and provide

“For thine own future safety.” STEEVENS.

441. ————*as we have ta'en the sacrament,*] So, in Holinshed, p. 745: “The earle himselfe first tooke a coporall oth on his honor, promising that incontinent after he shuld be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conjoined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth.” STEEVENS.

450. *All this divided York and Lancaster,*
Divided, in their dire division.—] I think the passage will be somewhat improved by a slight alteration :

All that divided York and Lancaster,
Divided in their dire division,
O now let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true succeeders of each royal house,
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together.
Let them unite all that York and Lancaster divided.
JOHNSON:

I shall here subjoin two Dissertations, one by Dr. Warburton, and one by Mr. Upton, upon the *Vice*.

ACT III. SCENE I.

THUS like the formal vice, Iniquity, &c.] As this corrupt reading in the common books hath occasioned our saying something of the barbarities of theatrical representations amongst us before the time of Shakspeare, it may not be improper, for a better apprehension of this whole matter, to give the reader some general account of the rise and progress of the modern stage.

The first form in which the drama appeared in the west of Europe, after the destruction of learned Greece and Rome, and that a calm of dulness had finished upon letters what the rage of barbarism had begun, was that of the Mysteries. These were the fashionable and favourite diversions of all ranks of people, both in France, Spain, and England. In which last place, as we learn by Stowe, they were in use about the time of Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth. As to Italy, by what I can find, the first rudiments of their stage, with regard to the *matter*, were prophane subjects, and, with regard to the *form*, a corruption of the ancient *mimes* and *attellanes*: by which means they got sooner into the right road than their neighbours; having had regular plays amongst them wrote as early as the fifteenth century.

As to these *mysteries*, they were, as their name speaks them, a representation of some scripture-story,

to

to the life : as may be seen from the following passage in an old French history, entitled, *La Chronique de Metz composée par le curé de St. Euchaire* ; which will give the reader no bad idea of the surprising absurdity of these strange representations : “ L’an 1437 le 3 Juillet (*says the honest Chronicler*) fut fait le Jeu de la Passion de N. S. en la plaine de Veximiel. Et fut Dieu un sire appelé Seigneur Nicolle Dom. Neufchastel, lequel étoit Curé de St. Victour de Metz, lequel fut presque mort en la Croix, s’il ne fût été secourus ; & convient qu’un autre Prêtre fut mis en la Croix pour parfaire le Personnage du Crucifiment pour ce jour ; & le lendemain le dit Curé de St. Victour parfit la Resurrection, et fit très hautement son personnage ; & dura le dit Jeu——Et autre Prêtre qui s’appelloit Mre. Jean de Nicey, qui étoit Chapelain de Metrange, fut Judas : lequel fut presque mort en pendant, car le cuer li faillit, et fut bien hâtivement dependu et porté en Voye. Et étoit la bouche d’Enfer très-bien faite ; car elle ouvroit & clooit, quand les Diables y vouloient entrer & isser ; & avoit deux gros Culs d’Acier,” &c. Alluding to this kind of representations, archbishop Harsnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 71, says, “ The little children were never so afraid of Hell-mouth in the old plays, painted with great gang teeth, staring eyes, and foul bottle nose.” Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, gives a fuller description of them in these words : “ The *Guary Miracle*, in English a *Miracle Play*, is a kind of interlude compiled in Cornish out of some scripture history.

history. For representing it, they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of an inclosed playne, some forty or fifty foot. The country people flock from all sides many miles off, to see and hear it. For they have therein devils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the ear. The players conne not their parts without book, but are prompted by one called the *ordinary*, who followeth at their back with the book in his hand," &c. &c. There was always a droll or buffoon in these *mysteries*, to make the people mirth with his sufferings or absurdities: and they could think of no better a personage to sustain this part than the *devil* himself. Even in the *mystery* of the *Passion*, mentioned above, it was contrived to make him ridiculous. Which circumstance is hinted at by Shakspeare (who has frequent allusions to these things) in the *Taming of the Shrew*, where one of the players asks for a *little vinegar* (as a *property*) *to make the devil roar*. For after the sponge with the gall and vinegar had been employed in the representation, they used to clap it to the nose of the devil; which making him roar, as if it had been *holy water*, afforded infinite diversion to the people. So that *vinegar*, in the old farces, was always afterwards in use to torment their devil. We have divers old English proverbs, in which the devil is represented as acting or suffering ridiculously and absurdly, which all arose from the part he bore in these *mysteries*, as in that, for instance, of—*Great cry and little wool, as the devil said when he sheared his hogs*. For the sheep-shearing

shearing of Nabal being represented in the *mystery* of *David and Abigail*, and the devil always attending Nabal, was made to imitate it by *shearing a hog*. This kind of absurdity, as it is the properest to create laughter, was the subject of the *ridiculous* in the ancient *mimes*, as we learn from these words of saint Austin : *Ne faciamus ut mimi solent, & optimus à libero aquam, à lymphis vinum**.

These *mysteries*, we see, were given in France, at first, as well as in England, *sub dio*, and only in the provinces. Afterwards we find them got into Paris, and a company established in the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, to represent them. But good letters and religion beginning to make their way in the latter-end of the reign of Francis the first, the stupidity and prophane-ness of the *mysteries* made the courtiers and clergy join their interest for their suppression. Accordingly, in the year 1541, the procureur-general, in the name of the king, presented a *request* against the company to the parliament. The three principal branches of his charge against them were, that the representation of the Old Testament stories inclined the people to Judaism ; that the New Testament stories encouraged libertinism and infidelity ; and that both of them lessened the charities to the poor : It seems that this prosecution succeeded ; for, in 1548, the parliament of Paris confirmed the company in the possession of the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, but interdicted the representa-

* Cic. D. l. iv.

tion of the *mysteries*. But in Spain, we find by Cervantes, that they continued much longer; and held their own, even after good comedy came in amongst them: as appears from the excellent critique of the Canon, in the fourth book, where he shews how the old extravagant *romances* might be made the foundation of a regular *epic* (which, he says, *tambien puede escribirse en prosa como en verso* *); as the *mystery-plays* might be improved into artful *comedy*. His words are, *Pues que si venimos à las comedias divinas, que de milagros falsos fingen en ellas, que de cosas apocrifas, y mal entendidas, atribueyendo a un santo los milagros de otro* †; which made them so fond of miracles, that they introduced them into *las comedias humanas*, he calls them. To return:

Upon this prohibition, the French poets turned themselves from *religious* to *moral* farces. And in this we soon followed them: the publick taste not suffering any greater alteration at first, though the Italians at this time affodred many just compositions for better models. These farces they called *moralities*. Pierre Gringore, one of their old poets, printed one of these *moralities*, entitled *La Moralité de l' Homme Obstiné*. The persons of the drama are *l' Homme Obstiné*—*Pugnition Divine*—*Simonie*—*Hypocrisie*—and *Demerites-Communes*. The *Homme Obstiné* is the atheist, and comes in blaspheming, and determined to persist in his impieties. Then *Pugnition Divine* appears, sitting on

* L. iv. c. 20.

† c. 21.

a throne in the air, and menacing the atheist with punishment. After this scene, *Simonie*, *Hypocrisie*, and *Demerites-Communes* appear and play their parts. In conclusion, *Pugnition Divine* returns, preaches to them, upbraids them with their crimes, and, in short, draws them all to repentance, all but the *Homme Obstiné*, who persists in his impiety, and is destroyed for an example. To this sad serious subject they added, though in a separate representation, a merry kind of farce called *Sottié*, in which there was *un Paysan* [the Clown] under the name of *Sot-Commun* [or Fool.] But we, who borrowed all these delicacies from the French, blended the *Moralité* and *Sottié* together: so that the *Paysan* or *Sot-Commun*, the *Clown* or *Fool*, got a place in our serious *moralities*: whose business we may understand in the frequent allusions our Shakspeare makes to them: as in that fine speech in the beginning of the third act of *Measure for Measure*, where we have this obscure passage:

“ ———merely thou art Death’s Fool,
“ For him thou labour’st by thy flight to shun,
“ And yet runn’st tow’rd him still.”

For, in these *moralities*, the Fool of the piece, in order to shew the inevitable approaches of *Death* (another of the *Dramatis Personæ*), is made to employ all his stratagems to avoid him; which, as the matter is ordered, bring the *Fool*, at every turn, into the very jaws of his enemy: so that a representation of these scenes would afford a great deal of good mirth and
morals

morals mixed together. The very same thing is again alluded to in these lines of *Love's Labour Lost* :

“ So Portent-like I would o’er-rule his state,
 “ That he should be my Fool, and I his Fate.”

Act iv. sc. 2.

But the French, as we say, keeping these two sorts of farces distinct, they became, in time, the parents of *tragedy* and *comedy* ; while we, by jumbling them together, begot, in an evil hour, that mungrel species, unknown to nature and antiquity, called *tragi-comedy*.

WARBURTON.

TO this, when Mr. Upton’s Dissertation is sub-joined, there will, perhaps, be no need of any other account of the *Vice*.

LIKE the old Vice.] The allusion here is to the *Vice*, a droll character in our old plays, accoutred with a long coat, a cap with a pair of ass’s ears, and a dagger of lath. Shakspeare alludes to his buffoon appearance in *Twelfth Night*, act iv.

“ In a trice, like to the old Vice,
 “ Who with dagger of lath, in his rage and his
 wrath,
 “ Cries, ah, ha! to the Devil.”

In the second part of *K. Henry IV.* act iii. Falstaff compares Shallow to a *Vice*’s dagger of lath. In *Hamlet*, act iii. Hamlet calls his uncle,

“ A vice of kings :”

i. e. a ridiculous representation of majesty. These passages the editors have very rightly expounded. I
 will

will now mention some others, which seem to have escaped their notice, the allusions being not quite so obvious.

The iniquity was often the *Vice* in our moralities; and is introduced in Ben Jonson's play called *The Devil's an Ass*; and likewise mentioned in his Epigram CXV.

“ *Being no vitious person, but the Vice*

“ *About the town,*

“ *Acts old Iniquity, and in the fit*

“ *Of miming, gets th' opinion of a wit.*”

But a passage cited from his play will make the following observations more plain. Act i. Pug asks the Devil “ to lend him a *Vice* :

“ *Satan. What Vice ?*

“ *What kind would thou have it of ?*

“ *Pug. Why, any Fraud,*

“ *Or Covetousness, or lady Vanity,*

“ *Or old Iniquity : I'll call him hither.*”

Thus the passage should be ordered :

“ *Pug. Why any : Fraud,*

“ *Or Covetousness, or lady Vanity,*

“ *Or old Iniquity.*

“ *Satan. I'll call him hither.*

“ *Enter Iniquity the Vice.*

“ *Ini. What is he calls upon me, and would seem to lack a Vice ?*

“ *Ere his words be half spoken, I am with him in a trice.*”

And in his *Staple of News*, act ii.

“ *Mirth*. How like you *the Vice* i’ th’ play ?

“ *Expectation*. Which is he ?

“ *Mirth*. Three or four ; *old Covetousness*, the sordid *Penny-Boy*, the *Money-Bawd*, who is a flesh-bawd too, they say.

“ *Tattle*. But here is never a *Fiend* to carry him away. Besides, he has never a wooden dagger ! I’d not give a rush for a *Vice*, that has not a wooden dagger to snap at every body he meets.

“ *Mirth*. That was the old way, gossip, when *Iniquity* came in, like hokos pokos, in a jugler’s jerkin,” &c.

He alludes to the *Vice* in the *Alchymist*, act i. sc. 3.

“ *Sub*. And, on your stall, a puppet, with a *Vice**.”

Some places of Shakspeare will from hence appear more easy : as in the First Part of *Henry IV*. act ii. where Hal humorously characterizing Falstaff, calls him, *That reverend Vice, that grey Iniquity, that father Ruffian, that Vanity in years*, in allusion to this buffoon character. In *K. Richard III*. act iii.

Thus, like the formal Vice, INIQUITY,

I moralize two meanings in one word.

Iniquity is the formal *Vice*.

* ———— *a puppet with a Vice*.] Mr. Upton has misinterpreted this passage. A *vice* in the present instance means a *device, clock-work*. Coryat, p. 254, speaks of a picture whose eyes were moved by a *vice*. FARMER.

In

In *Hamlet*, act i. there is an allusion, still more distant, to *the Vice*; which will not be obvious at first, and therefore is to be introduced with a short explanation. This buffoon character was used to make fun with the devil; and he had several trite expressions, as, *I'll be with you in a trice*; *Ah, ha, boy, are you there?* &c. And this was great entertainment to the audience, to see their old enemy so belabour'd in effigy. In *King Henry V.* act iv. a boy characterizing Pistol, says, *Bardolph and Nym had ten times more valour than this roaring Devil i' the old play: every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger.* Now Hamlet, having been instructed by his father's ghost, is resolved to break the subject of the discourse to none but Horatio; and to all others, his intention is to appear as a sort of madman; when therefore the oath of secrecy is given to the centinels, and the ghost unseen calls out, *swear*; Hamlet speaks to it as *the Vice* does to the Devil. *Ah, ha, boy, say'st thou so? Art thou there, Truepenny?* Hamlet had a mind that the centinels should imagine this was a shape that the devil had put on; and in act iii. he is somewhat of this opinion himself:

*The spirit that I have seen,
May be the devil.*

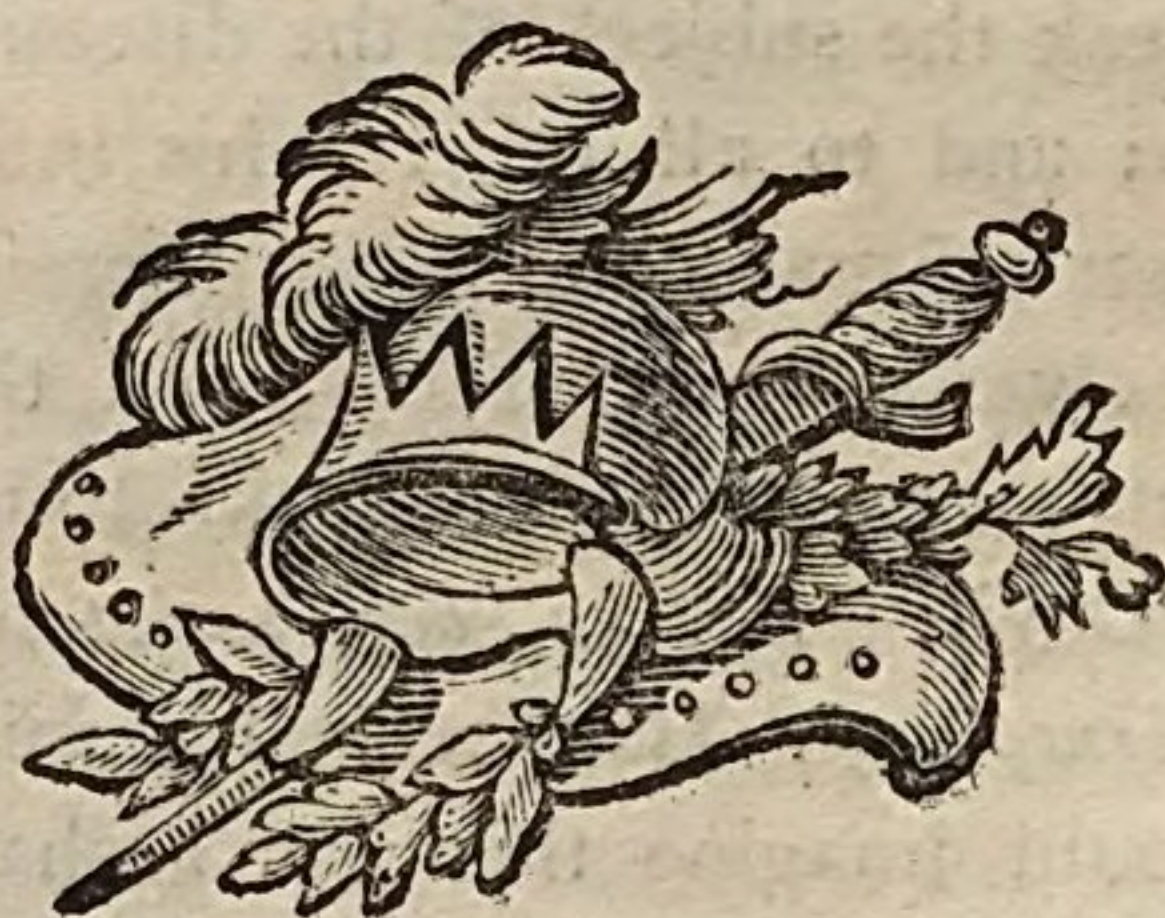
The manner of speech, therefore, to the devil, was what all the audience were well acquainted with; and it takes off in some measure from the horror of the scene.

UPTON.

I have

I have nothing to add to the observations of these learned criticks, but that some traces of this antiquated exhibition are still retained in the rustick puppet-plays, in which I have seen the *Devil* very lustily belaboured by *Punch*, whom I hold to be the legitimate successor of the old *Vice*. JOHNSON.

THE END.



ANNOTATIONS

BY

SAM. JOHNSON & GEO. STEEVENS,

AND

THE VARIOUS COMMENTATORS,

UPON

K. HENRY VIII.

WRITTEN BY

WILL. SHAKSPERE.

———*SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.*

VIRG.

LONDON:

Printed for, and under the Direction of,

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M DCC LXXXVII.





ANNOTATIONS
UPON
K. HENRY VIII.

Dramatis Personæ.] *SIR William Sands* was created *Lord Sands* about this time; but is here introduced among the persons of the drama as a distinct character. *Sir William* has not a single speech assigned to him; and to make the blunder the greater, is brought on after *Lord Sands* has already made his appearance.

STEEVENS.

There is no enumeration of the persons in the old edition.

JOHNSON.

PROLOGUE.

P R O L O G U E.

Line 15. ——— *O* R to see a fellow

In a long motley coat,——] Alluding to the *fools* and *buffoons*, introduced for the generality in the plays a little before our author's time: and of whom he has left us a small taste in his own.

THEOBALD.

So Nash, in his Epistle Dedicatory to *Have with you to Saffron-Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up*, 1596: “—*fooles* ye know alwaies for the most part (especiallie if they bee naturall *fooles*) are suted in *long coats*.”

STEEVENS.

18. ——— *such a show*

As fool and fight is,———] This is not the only passage in which Shakspeare has discovered his conviction of the impropriety of battles represented on the stage. He knew that five or six men with swords, gave a very unsatisfactory idea of an army, and therefore, without much care to excuse his former practice, he allows that a theatrical fight would destroy all *opinion of truth*, and leave him never an *understanding friend*. *Magnis ingeniis & multa nihilominus habituris simplex convenit erroris confessio.* JOHNSON.

20. ——— *the opinion that we bring,*

To make that only true we now intend,)] These lines I do not understand, and suspect them of corruption. I believe we may better read thus:

———*th'*

———*th' opinion, that we bring*
Or make; that only truth we now intend.

JOHNSON.

To *intend*, in our author, has sometimes the same meaning as to *pretend*. So, in the preceding play—

“*Intend* some deep suspicion.” STEEVENS.

If any alteration were necessary, I should be for only changing the order of the words, and reading—

That *only true to make* we now intend :

i. e. that now we intend *to exhibit only what is true*.

This passage, and others of this Prologue, in which great stress is laid upon *the truth* of the ensuing representation, would lead one to suspect, that this play of Henry the VIIIth, is the very play mentioned by Sir H. Wotton [in his letter of July 2, 1612, *Reliq. Wotton*. p. 425.] under the description of “*a new play* [acted by the king’s players at the Bank-side] called, *All is True*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry the VIIIth.” The *extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty*, with which, Sir Henry says, that play was set forth, and the particular incident of *certain cannons shot off at the king’s entry to a masque at the Cardinal Wolsey’s house* (by which the theatre was set on fire and burnt to the ground), are strictly applicable to the play before us. Mr. Chamberlaine, in *Winwood’s Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 469, mentions, “the burning of *the Globe*, or playhouse, on the *Bankside*, on St. Peter’s day [1613], which (says he) fell out by a *peale of chambers*, that I know not on what occasion were to be used in the play.”

B

B. Jonson,

B. Jonson, in his *Execration upon Vulcan*, says, they were *two poor chambers*. [See the stage-direction in this play, a little before the king's entrance. "*Drum and trumpet, chambers discharged.*"] The continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle*, relating the same accident, p. 1003, says expressly, that it happened at *the play of Henry the VIIIth*.

In a MS. letter of Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated *London, this last of June 1613*, the same fact is thus related: "No longer since than *yesterday*, while Bourbage his companie were acting at the Globe the *play of Henry VIII*. and there shooting of certayne *chambers* in way of triumph, the fire catch'd," &c. MS. Harl. 7002. TYRWHITT.

25. ————*Think*, ye see

The very persons of our noble story,] Why the rhyme should have been interrupted here, when it was so easily to be supplied, I cannot conceive. It can only be accounted for from the negligence of the press, or the transcribers; and therefore I have made no scruple to replace it thus:

———*Think before ye.*

THEOBALD.

This is specious; but the laxity of the versification in this Prologue, and in the following Epilogue, makes it not necessary. JOHNSON.

ACT

ACT I.

Line 4. — *A Fresh admirer*] An admirer untired; an admirer still feeling the impression, as if it were hourly renewed. JOHNSON.

20. 'Till this time, pomp was single; but now marry'd To one above itself. —] That is, pomp was increased on this occasion to more than twice as much as it had ever been before. JOHNSON.

21. ————— Each following day Became the next day's master, &c.] *Dies diem docet.* Every day learned something from the preceding, till the concluding day collected all the splendor of all the former shews. JOHNSON.

24. *All clinquant*, —] All glittering, all shining. Clarendon uses this word in his description of the Spanish *Juego de Toros*. JOHNSON.

It is likewise used in a *Memorable Masque*, &c. performed before king James, at Whitehall, in 1613, at the marriage of the Palsgrave and princess Elizabeth.

“ ——— his buskins *clinquant* as his other attire.”

STEEVENS.

35. ————— him in eye,
Still him in praise: —] So, Dryden:

“ ————— Two chiefs

“ So match'd as each seem'd worthiest when alone.”

JOHNSON.

38. *Durst wag his tongue in censure.*] Censure for deter-

determination, of which had the noblest appearance.

WARBURTON.

43. *That Bevis was believ'd.*] The old romantick legend of Bevis of Southampton. This Bevis (or Beauvois) a Saxon, was for his prowess created by William the Conqueror earl of Southampton: of whom Camden in his *Britannia*.

THEOBALD.

46. ———*the tract of every thing, &c.*] The course of these triumphs and pleasures, however well related, must lose, in the description, part of that spirit and energy which were expressed in the real action.

JOHNSON.

48. ———*All was royal, &c.*] This speech was given, in all the editions, to Buckingham; but improperly. For he wanted information, having kept his chamber during the solemnity. I have therefore given it to Norfolk.

WARBURTON.

I would point thus:

——all was royal

To the disposing of it;

i. e. even to the disposing of it.

MUSGRAVE.

50. ———*the office did*

Distinctly his full function.] The commission for regulating this festivity was well executed, and gave exactly to every particular person and action the proper place.

JOHNSON.

55. ———*element*] No initiation, no previous practices. *Elements* are the first principles of things, or rudiments of knowledge. The word is here applied, not without a *catachresis*, to a person.

JOHNSON.

62. ———*fierce vanities*? ———] *Fierce* is here, I think, used like the French *fier* for *proud*, unless we suppose an allusion to the mimical ferocity of the combatants in the tilt. JOHNSON.

It is certainly used as the French word *fier*. So, in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, the puritan says, the hobby horse "is a *fierce* and rank idol." STEEVENS.

63. *That such a keech*——] A *keech* is a solid lump or mass. A cake of wax or tallow formed in a mould is called yet in some places, a *keech*.

JOHNSON.

There may, perhaps, be a singular propriety in this term of contempt. *Wolsey* was the son of a *butcher*, and in the second part of *King Henry IV.* a butcher's wife is called—*Goody Kech*. STEEVENS.

74. *A gift that heaven gives for him, which buys
A place next to the king.*] What he is unable to give himself, heaven gives or deposits *for* him, and that gift, or deposit, *buys a place*, &c. STEEVENS.

86. ———*the file*] That is, *the list*. JOHNSON.

90. ———*council out*,] Without advising with, or consulting the council; not suffering them to have any concern in the business. REMARKS.

91. *Must fetch in him he papers.*] He *papers*, a verb; his own letter, by his own single authority, and without the concurrence of the council, must fetch in him whom he papers down.—I don't understand it, unless this be the meaning. POPE.

Wolsey published a list of the several persons whom he had appointed to attend on the king at this interview.

view. See Hall's *Chronicle*, Rymer's *Fædera*, tom. 13, &c.

STEEVENS.

97. *Have broke their backs with laying manors on them
For this great journey.——*] In the ancient *Interlude of Nature*, bl. let. no date, but apparently printed in the reign of King Henry VIII. there seems to have been a similar stroke aimed at this expensive expedition :

“ *Pryde*. I am unhappy, I see it well,

“ *For th' expence of myne apparell*

“ *Towardys this vyage——*

“ *What in horses and other array,*

“ *Hath compelled me for to lay*

“ *All my land to mortgage.*” STEEVENS.

We meet with a similar expression in Marlowe's *King Edward II.* 1598 :

“ *While soldiers mutiny for want of pay,*

“ *He wears a lord's revenue on his back.*”

MALONE.

So also Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* : “ 'Tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand oakes, or an hundred oxen, into a sute of apparell, to weare a whole manor on his back.” Edit. 1634, p. 482. WHALLEY.

See also Dodsley's *Collection of Old Plays*, edit. 1780, Vol. v. p. 26. Vol. xii. p. 395. REED.

98. ————*What did this vanity,*

But———] What effect had this pompous shew, but the production of a wretched conclusion.

JOHNSON.

104. *Every man,*

After the hideous storm that follow'd, &c.] His author, Hall, says, "Monday, 18th day of June, there blew such storms of wind and weather, that marvel was to hear; for which hideous tempest some said it was a very prognostication of trouble and hatred to come between princes." In Henry VIII. p. 80.

WARBURTON.

114. *The ambassador is silenc'd ?]* I understand it of the French ambassador residing in England, who, by being refused an audience, may be said to be *silenc'd*.

JOHNSON.

116. *A proper title of a peace ;—]* A fine name of a peace. Ironically.

JOHNSON.

133. *——comes that rock.]* To make the *rock* come is not very just.

JOHNSON.

142. *——butcher's cur——]* Wolsey is said to have been the son of a butcher.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Grey observes, that when the death of the duke of Buckingham was reported to the emperor Charles V. he said, "The first buck of England was worried to death by a *butcher's dog*." Skelton, whose satire is of the grossest kind, in *Why come you not to Court*, has the same reflection on the meanness of Cardinal Wolsey's birth :

"For drede of the *boucher's dog*,

"Wold wirry them like an hog." STEEVENS.

144. *——A beggar's book*

Out-worths a noble's blood.] That is, the literary qualifications of a bookish beggar are more prized than

than the high descent of hereditary greatness. This is a contemptuous exclamation very naturally put into the mouth of one of the ancient, unlettered, martial nobility. JOHNSON.

152. *He bores me with some trick:—*] He stabs or wounds me by some artifice or fiction. JOHNSON.

So, in the *Life and Death of the Lord Cromwell*, 1613:

“One that hath gull’d you, that hath *bor’d* you, sir.” STEEVENS.

157. *————Anger is like*

A full hot horse;————] So, Massinger, in the *Unnatural Combat*:

Let passion work, and, like a hot-rein’d horse,

’Twill quickly tire itself.

STEEVENS.

163. *——from a mouth of honour——*] I will crush this base-born fellow, by the due influence of my rank, or say, that all distinction of persons is at an end.

JOHNSON.

167. *Heat not a furnace, &c.]* Might not Shakspeare allude to Dan. iii. 22.? “Therefore, because the king’s commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of fire slew those men that took up *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.*”

STEEVENS.

181. *————sincere motions)——*] Honest indignation; warmth of integrity.

JOHNSON.

190. *————his mind and place*

Infecting one another——] This is very satirical. His mind he represents as highly corrupt; and

and yet he supposes the contagion of the *place* of first minister as adding an infection to it. WARBURTON.

193. ——— suggests *the king our master*] suggests, for excites. WARBURTON.

202. ——— *our court cardinal*] The old copy reads, ——— *count cardinal*; which may be right.

STEEVENS.

256. *John de la Court*,] The name of this monk of the Chartreux was *John de la Car*, alias *de la Court*. See Holinshed, p. 863. STEEVENS.

264. ——— *my life is spann'd already*:] To *span* is to gripe, or enclose in the hand; to *span* is also to measure by the palm and fingers. The meaning, therefore, may either be, that *hold is taken of my life, my life is in the gripe of my enemies*; or, that *my time is measured, the length of my life is now determined*. JOHNSON.

265. *I am the shadow of poor Buckingham;*

Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on,

By dark'ning my clear sun.———] These lines

have passed all the editors. Does the reader understand them? By me they are inexplicable, and must be left, I fear, to some happier sagacity. If the usage of our author's time could allow *figure* to be taken, as now, for *dignity* or *importance*, we might read,

Whose figure even this instant cloud puts out.

But I cannot please myself with any conjecture.

Another explanation may be given, somewhat harsh, but the best that occurs to me:

I am the shadow of poor Buckingham,

Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on;

whose

whose port and dignity is assumed by this cardinal, that overclouds and oppresses me, and who gains my place

By dark'ning my clear sun.

JOHNSON.

Perhaps Shakspeare has expressed the same idea more clearly in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *King John*:

“ Oh, how this spring of love resembeleth

“ Th’ uncertain glory of an *April* day,

“ Which now shews all the beauty of the sun,

“ And, by and by, a cloud takes all away.”

Antony, remarking on the various appearances assumed by the flying vapours, adds,

“ ———now thy captain is

“ Even such a body: here I am Antony,

“ But cannot hold this visible shape, my knave.”

Or yet more appositely in *King John*:

“ ———being but the shadow of your son

“ Becomes a sun, and makes your son a shadow.”

Such another thought appears in the famous History of *Thomas Stukely*, 1605:

“ He is the *substance* of my *shadowed* love.”

There is likewise a passage similar to the conclusion of this, in the *Bloody Brother* of Beaumont and Fletcher:

“ ———is drawn so high, that, like an ominous comet,

“ He *darkens* all your light.”

STEEVENS.

By adopting Dr. Johnson’s first conjecture, “ puts out,” for “ puts on,” a tolerable sense may be given to these obscure lines. “ I am but the shadow of poor Buckingham: and even the figure or outline of this shadow begins now to fade away, being extinguished

guished by this impending cloud, which darkens (or interposes between me and) my clear sun; that is, the favour of my sovereign.” BLACKSTONE.

268. ———*and the best heart of it,*] Heart is not here taken for the great organ of circulation and life; but, in a common and popular sense, for the most valuable or precious part. Our author, in *Hamlet*, mentions the *heart of heart*. Exhausted and effete ground is said by the farmer to be *out of heart*. The hard and inner part of the oak is called *heart of oak*.

JOHNSON.

269. ———*stood i' the level*

Of a full-charg'd confederacy ;——] To stand in the *level* of a gun, is to stand in a *line with its mouth*, so as to be hit by the shot.

JOHNSON.

So, in our author's *Lover's Complaint* :

“ ———not a heart which in his *level* came,

“ Could scape the hail of his all-hurting aim.”

STEEVENS.

302. *The many to them 'longing,—*] The *many* is the *multitude*. Thus, *Coriolanus*, speaking of the rabble, calls them :

“ ———the mutable rank-scented *many*.”

STEEVENS.

307. *And Danger serves among them.*] Could one easily believe, that a writer who had, but immediately before, sunk so low in his expression, should here rise again to a height so truly sublime? where, by the noblest stretch of fancy, *Danger* is personalized as serving in the rebel army, and shaking the established government.

WARBURTON.

Chaucer,

Chaucer, Gower, Skelton, and Spenser, have personified *Danger*. The first, in his *Romaunt of the Rose*; the second, in his fifth book *De Confessione Amantis*; the third, in his *Bouge of Court*:

“With that, anone out start *dangere*.”

and the fourth, in the 10th Canto of the fourth book of his *Faery Queen*, and again in the fifth book and the ninth Canto. STEEVENS.

314. ———*front but in that file*] I am but *primus inter pares*. I am but first in the row of counsellors.

JOHNSON.

339. ———*traſtable obedience, &c.*] The meaning, I think, is,—Things are now in such a situation, that resentment and indignation predominate in every man’s breast over duty and allegiance. MALONE.

342. *There is no primer business.*] In the old edition :

There is no primer baseness.

The queen is here complaining of the suffering of the commons; which, she suspects, arose from the abuse of power in some great men. But she is very reserved in speaking her thoughts concerning the quality of it. We may be assured then, that she did not, in conclusion, call it the highest *baseness*; but rather made use of a word that could not offend the cardinal, and yet would incline the king to give it a speedy hearing. I read therefore,

There is no primer business.

i. e. no matter of state that more earnestly presses a dispatch. WARBURTON.

So,

So, in *Othello*:

“ Were they as *prime* as goats, as hot as monkeys.—” STEEVENS.

353. *We must not stint*] *To stint* is to *stop*, to *retard*. See *Note* on the first act of *Romeo and Juliet*.

STEEVENS.

355. *To cope*—] To engage with; to encounter. The word is still used in some counties. JOHNSON.

359. *By sick interpreters, once weak ones*,—] *Once* is not unfrequently used for *sometime*, or *at one time or other*, among our ancient writers.

So, in the 13th *Idea* of Drayton:

“ This diamond shall *once* consume to dust.”

Again, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*:—“ I pray thee *once* to-night give my sweet Nan this ring.”

Again, in *Leicester's Commonwealth*: — “ if God should take from us her most excellent majesty (as *once* he will) and so leave us destitute.—” STEEVENS.

360. ———*what worst, as oft,*

Hitting a grosser quality,——] The worst actions of great men are commended by the vulgar, as more accommodated to the grossness of their notions. JOHNSON.

374. *From every tree, lop, bark, and part o'the timber*;] *Lop* is a substantive, and signifies the *branches*.

WARBURTON.

385. *That, through our intercession, &c.*] So, in Holinshed, p. 892. “ The cardinall, to deliver himself from the evill will of the people, purchased by procuring and advancing of this demand, affirmed,

and caused it to be bruited abroad, that *through his intercession* the king had pardoned and released all things.” STEEVENS.

391. *The gentleman is learn'd, &c.*] It appears from “The prologue of the translatour,” that the *Knyght of the Swanne*, a French romance, was translated at the request of this unfortunate nobleman. *Copland*, the Printer, adds, “this present history compyled, named *Helyas the Knight of the Swanne*, of whom lineally is descended my said lord.” The duke was executed on Friday the 17th of May 1521. The book has no date.

STEEVENS.

394. ———out of himself.———] Beyond the treasures of his own mind. JOHNSON.

395. ———noble benefits———
Not well dispos'd———] Great gifts of nature and education, not joined with good dispositions.

JOHNSON.

399. ———and when we,
Almost with ravish'd list'ning———] I know not whether we may not read,

———this man

Who was enroll'd with wonder, and whom we

Almost were ravish'd listening, could not find

His hour of speech a minute.

To listen a man, for, to hearken to him, is commonly used by our author. So, by Milton:

“I listen'd them a while.”

I do not rate my conjecture at much; but, as the common reading is without authority, something may be

be tried. Perhaps the passage is best as it was originally published.

JOHNSON.

403. ————*is become as black*

As if besmear'd in hell——] So, in *Othello*:

“——Her name, that was as fresh

“As Dian's visage, is now begrim'd and black

“As mine own face.”

STEEVENS.

421. *This dangerous conception in this point*] Note this particular part of this dangerous design.

JOHNSON.

432. *By a vain prophecy of Nicholas Hopkins.*] In former editions,

By a vain prophecy of Nicholas Henton.

We heard before, from Brandon, of one Nicholas Hopkins; and now his name is changed into Henton; so that Brandon and the surveyor seem to be in two stories. There is, however, but one and the same person meant, Hopkins; as I have restored it in the text, for perspicuity's sake: yet it will not be any difficulty to account for the other name, when we come to consider, that he was a monk of the convent, called Henton, near Bristol. So both Hall and Holinshed acquaint us. And he might, according to the custom of these times, be called Nicholas of Henton, from the place; as Hopkins from his family.

THEOBALD.

This mistake, as it was undoubtedly made by Shakspeare, is worth a note. It would be doing too great an honour to the players, to suppose them capable of being the authors of it.

STEEVENS.

439. *The duke being at the Rose, within the parish
Saint Lawrence Pountney,———]* This house
was purchased, about the year 1561, by Richard Hill,
some time master of the Merchant-Taylors company,
and is now the Merchant-Taylors' school, in Suffolk-
Lane. WHALLEY.

451. *———under the commission's seal
He solemnly had sworn,———]* So all the edi-
tions down from the very beginning. But what com-
mission's seal? That is a question, I dare say, none
of our diligent editors ever asked themselves. The
text must be restored, as I have corrected it; and
honest Holinshed, from whom our author took the
substance of this passage, may be called in as a testi-
mony.—“The duke in talk told the monk, that he had
done very well to bind his chaplain, John de la Court,
under the seal of confession, to keep secret such mat-
ter.” Vide *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 863. THEOBALD.

457. *For the love———]* The old copy reads—*To
the love.* STEEVENS.

477. *—so rank?——]* Rank weeds, are weeds that
are grown up to great height and strength. *What,
says the king, was he advanced to this pitch?*

JOHNSON.

485. *———Being my sworn servant, &c.]* Sir
William Blomer (Holinshed calls him *Bulmer*) was
reprimanded by the king in the star-chamber, for that,
being his sworn servant, he had left the king's service
for the duke of Buckingham's. *Edwards's MSS.*

STEEVENS,

512.

512. *Is it possible, the spells of France should juggle
Men into such strange mysteries ?*] These
mysteries were the fantastic court-fashions. He says,
they were occasioned by the *spells* of France. Now
it was the opinion of the common people, that con-
jurers, jugglers, &c. with *spells* and *charms* could force
men to commit idle fantastick actions ; and change
even their shapes to something ridiculous and gro-
tesque. To this superstition the poet alludes, who,
therefore, we must think, wrote the second line thus :

Men into such strange mockeries.

A word well expressive of the whimsical fashions here
complained of. Sir Thomas More, speaking of this
very matter, at the same time, says :

“ *Ut more simiæ laboret fingere*

“ *Et æmulari Gallicas ineptias.*”

But the Oxford editor, without regard to the meta-
phor, but in order to improve on the emendation,
reads *mimick'ries* ; not considering neither that what-
soever any thing is changed or *juggled* into by *spells*,
must have a *passive* signification, as *mockeries*, [*i. e.*
visible figures] not an *active*, as *mimick'ries*.

WARBURTON.

I do not deny this note to be plausible, but I am in
doubt whether it be right. I believe the explanation
of the word *mysteries* will spare us the trouble of try-
ing experiments of emendation. *Mysteries* were alle-
gorical shews, which the *munners* of those times ex-
hibited in odd and fantastick habits. *Mysteries* are
used, by an easy figure, for those that exhibited

mysteries; and the sense is only, that the travelled Englishmen were metamorphosed, by foreign fashions, into such an uncouth appearance, that they looked like *mummers* in a mystery. JOHNSON.

That *mysteries* is the genuine reading, and that it is used in a different sense from the one here given, will appear in the following instance from Drayton's *Shepherd's Garland*:

“——even so it fareth now with thee,

“And with these *wisards* of thy *mysterie*.”——

The context of which shews, that by *wisards* are meant *poets*, and by *mysterie* their *poetic skill*, which was before called “*mister artes*.” Hence the *mysteries* in Shakspeare signify those *fantastick manners* and *fashions* of the French, which had operated as *spells* or *enchantments*. HENLEY.

519. *A fit or two o' the face*;——] A fit of the face seems to be what we now term a *grimace*, an artificial cast of the countenance. JOHNSON.

Fletcher has more plainly expressed the same thought in *The Elder Brother*:

“——learnt new tongues——

“To vary his face as seamen do their compass.”

525. *And springhalt reign'd among 'em*.] The *stringhalt*, or *springhalt* (as the old copy reads) is a disease incident to horses, which gives them a convulsive motion in their paces.

So, in *Muleasses the Turk*, 1610:

“——by reason of a general *spring-halt* and debility in their hams.”

Again,

Again, in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew-Fair* :

“ Poor soul, she has had a *stringhalt*.”

STEEVENS,

540. ———leave those remnants

Of fool, and feather,] This does not allude to the *feathers* anciently worn in the hats and caps of our countrymen (a circumstance to which no ridicule could justly belong), but to an effeminate fashion recorded in Greene's *Farewell to Folly*, 1617: from whence it appears, that even young gentlemen carried *fans of feathers* in their hands: “ ———we strive to be counted womanish, by keeping of beauty, by curling the hair, by *wearing plumes of feathers in our hands*, which, in wars, our ancestors wore on their heads.”

Again, in his *Quip for an upstart Courtier*, 1620: “ Then our young courtiers strove to exceed one another in vertue, not in bravery; they rode not with *fannes* to ward their faces from the wind,” &c.

Again, in *Lingua*, &c. 1607, Phantastes, who is a male character, is equipped with a *fan*. STEEVENS.

547. —blister'd breeches,—] Thus the old copy: *i. e.* breeches puff'd, swell'd out like *blisters*. The modern editors read—*bolster'd* breeches, which has the same meaning. STEEVENS.

597. —noble bevy,—] Milton has copied this word:

“ *A bevy of fair dames.*”

JOHNSON.

599. *As first-good company, good wine, good welcome, &c.*] *i. e.* he would have you as merry as these three things can make you, the best company in the land, of the best rank, good wine, &c. THEOBALD.

Sir

Sir T. Hanmer has mended it more elegantly, but with greater violence :

As first, good company, then good wine, &c.

JOHNSON.

606. —*a running banquet*—] *A running banquet* is a phrase alluding to a *hasty refreshment*, and is set in opposition to a *protracted meal*. The former is the object of this rakish peer; the latter, perhaps, he would have relinquished to those of more permanent desires.

STEEVENS.

651. ———*if I make my play.*] *If I may choose my game.*

REMARKS.

656. ———*Chambers discharg'd.*] A *chamber* is a gun which stands erect on its breech. Such are used only on occasions of rejoicing, and are so contrived as to carry great charges, and thereby to make a noise more than proportioned to their bulk. They are called *chambers* because they are mere *chambers* to lodge powder; a *chamber* being the technical term for that cavity in a piece of ordnance which contains the combustibles. Some of them are still fired in the Park, and at the places opposite to the parliament-house, when the king goes thither. Camden enumerates them among other guns, as follows:—"cannons, demi-cannons, *chambers*, arquebuse, musquet."

Again, in *A New Trick to cheat the Devil*, 1636 :

"———I still think o' the Tower ordnance,

"Or of the peal of *chambers*, that's still fir'd

"When my lord-mayor takes his barge."

STEEVENS.

674. *Enter the King, and others, as Maskers.*] For

an account of this masque, see Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 291. STEEVENS.

699. ———*take it.*] That is, take the chief place.

JOHNSON.

703. *You have found him, cardinal :*] Holinshed says the cardinal mistook, and pitched upon Sir Edward Neville; upon which the king laughed, and pulled off both his own mask and Sir Edward's. *Edwards's MSS.* STEEVENS.

706. ———*unhappily.*] That is, *unluckily, mischievously.* JOHNSON.

714. *I were unmannerly to take you out,*

And not to kiss you.] A kiss was anciently the established fee of a lady's partner. So, in *A Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the Use and Abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie*, bl. let. no date. "Imprinted at London, at the long shop adjoining unto Saint Mildred's church in the Pultrie, by John Alde."

"But some reply, what foole would daunce,

"If that when daunce is doon,

"He may not have at ladyes lips

"That which in daunce he woon?"

STEEVENS.

730. ———*Let the musick knock it.*] So in the first part of *Antonio and Mellida*:

Fla. Faith, the song will seem to come off hardly:

Catz. Troth, not a whit, if you seem to come off quickly.

Fla. Pert Catzo, *knock it then.*

STEEVENS.

ACT

ACT II.

Line 41. — *HE sweat extremely,*] This circumstance is taken from Holinshed. — “After he was found guilty, the duke was brought to the bar, sore chafing, and *sweat marvelously.*” STEEVENS.

70. *Sir William.*] The old copy reads, *Sir Walter.* STEEVENS.

87. ——— *You few that lov’d me, &c.*] These lines are remarkably tender and pathetic. JOHNSON.

101. ——— *no black envy*

Shall make my grave. ———] I believe Shakspeare, by this expression, meant to make the duke say, *No action expressive of malice shall conclude my life.* *Envy* by our author is used for malice and *hatred* in other places, and, perhaps, in this.

Again, in the ancient metrical romance of *Syr Bevis of Hampton*, bl. let. no date :

“Traytoure, he sayd with great *envy*,

“Turne thee now I thee defye.”

Again :

“They drewe theyr swordes hastely,

“And smot together with great *envy.*”

And Barrett, in his *Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionary*, 1580, thus interprets it. STEEVENS.

118. Buck. *Nay, Sir Nicholas,*

Let it alone ; my state now will but mock me.]

The

The last verse would run more smoothly, by making the monosyllables change places :

Let it alone, my state will now but mock me.

WHALLEY.

Mr. Mason, in his *Caradacus*, hath used the same collocation with Shakspeare :

“ I, that all despotic reign,

“ Claim *but* there a moment’s power.”

121. — *poor Edward Bohun* :] The duke of Buckingham’s name was Stafford ; Shakspeare was led into the mistake by Holinshed. STEEVENS.

This is not an expression thrown out at random, or by mistake, but one strongly marked with historical propriety. The name of the duke of Buckingham, most generally known, was *Stafford* ; but the *History of Remarkable Trials*, 8vo. 1715, p. 170, says : “ it seems he affected that surname [of *Bohun*] before that of *Stafford*, he being descended from the *Bohuns*, earls of Hereford.” His reason for this might be, because he was lord high constable of England by inheritance of tenure from the *Bohuns* ; and as the poet has taken particular notice of his great office, does it not seem probable that he had fully considered of the duke’s foundation for assuming the name of *Bohun* ? In truth, the duke’s name was BAGOT ; for a gentleman of that very ancient family married the heiress of the barony of Stafford, and their son relinquishing his paternal surname, assumed that of his mother, which continued in his posterity. TOLLET.

123. — *I now seal it, &c.*] I now seal my truth,
my

my loyalty, with blood, which blood shall one day make them groan. JOHNSON.

153. *And when you would say something that is sad, &c.]* So, in *K. Richard II.*

“Tell thou the lamentable tale of me,

“And send the hearers weeping to their beds.”

STEEVENS.

165. *Strong faith—]* is great fidelity. JOHNSON.

239. *The French king's sister.] i. e.* the dutchess of Alençon. STEEVENS.

246. *From princes into pages:—]* This may allude to the retinue of the cardinal, who had several of the nobility among his menial servants. JOHNSON.

248. *Into what pitch he please.]* The allusion seems to be to the 21st verse of the 9th chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the *Romans*: “Hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?”

COLLINS.

265. *A door opens, &c.]* The stage direction in the old copy is a singular one. *Exit Lord Chamberlain, and the King draws the curtain, and sits reading pensively.*

STEEVENS.

282. *—have great care*

I be not found a talker.] I take the meaning to be, *Let care be taken that my promise be performed, that my professions of welcome be not found empty talk.*

JOHNSON.

290. *—so sick though,—]* That is, *so sick as he is proud.*

JOHNSON.

342. *Kept him a foreign man still:—*] Kept him out of the king's presence, employed in foreign embassies. JOHNSON.

368. *To give her the avaunt!—*] To send her away contemptuously; to pronounce against her a sentence of ejection. JOHNSON.

374. *Yet, if that quarrel, fortune,—*] The poet may be easily supposed to use *quarrel* for *quareller*, as *murder* for the *murderer*, the act for the agent.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson may be right. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“———but that your royalty

“ Holds idleness your subject, I should take you

“ For *Idleness* itself.”

Like Martial's — “ *Non vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed Vitium.*” We might, however, read——

Yet if that quarrel fortune to divorce

It from the bearer.——

i. e. if any quarrel happen or chance to divorce it from the bearer.

To *fortune* is a verb used by Shakspeare:

“——I'll tell you as we pass along,

“ That you will wonder what hath *fortuned*?”

Again, in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, Book I. c. ii.

“ It *fortuned* (high heaven did so ordaine),” &c.

STEEVENS.

378. —*stranger now again.*] *i. e.* She is alienated from the king's affection, is a stranger to his bed.

TOLLET.

386. ————our best having.] That is, our best possession. See note on *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act iii. sc. 2. JOHNSON.

397. ————cheveril—] is kid-skin, soft leather. JOHNSON.

So, in *Histriomastix*, 1610:

“The *cheveril* conscience of corrupted law.”

STEEVENS.

407. ————Pluck off a little;] The old lady first questions Anne Bullen about being a *queen*, which she declares her aversion to; she then proposes the title of a *dutchess*, and asks her if she thinks herself equal to the task of sustaining it; but as she still declines the offer of greatness;

Pluck off a little,

saye she, *i. e.* let us descend still lower, and more upon a level with your own quality; and then adds,

I would not be a young count in your way,

which is still an inferior degree of honour to any yet spoken of.

STEEVENS.

416. *You'd venture an emballing:—*] You would venture to be distinguished by the *ball*, the ensign of royalty.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson's explanation cannot be right, because a *queen-consort*, such as *Anne Bullen* was, is not distinguished by the *ball*, the ensign of royalty, nor has the poet expressed that she was so distinguished.

TOLLET.

Anne. *I swear again, I would not be a queen
For all the world.*

Old

Old L. *In faith, for little England
You'd venture an emballing : I myself
Would for Carnarvonshire——*

Little England seems very properly opposed to *all the world* ; but what has *Carnarvonshire* to do here ? Does it refer to the birth of Edward II. at Carnarvon ? or may not this be the allusion ? By *little England* is meant, perhaps, that territory in Pembrokeshire, where the Flemings settled in Henry I.'s time, who, speaking a language very different from the Welsh, and bearing some affinity to the English, this fertile spot was called by the Britons, as we are told by Camden, *Little England beyond Wales* ; and, as it is a very fruitful country, may be justly opposed to the mountainous and barren county of *Carnarvon*.

WHALLEY.

Might we read——You'd venture an *empalling* ; *i. e.* being invested with the *pall* or robes of state ? The word occurs in the old tragedy of *K. Edward III.* 1596 :

“ As with this armour I *impall* thy breast.——”
And, in *Macbeth*, the verb to *pall*, is used in the sense of *enrobe* :

“ And *pall* thee in the dunnest smoke of hell.”

MALONE.

Might we not read, “ *an embalming* ? ” A queen-consort is *anointed* at her coronation ; and in *King Richard II.* the word is used in that sense :

“ With my own tears I wash away my *balm*.”

D i j

Dr.

Dr. Johnson properly explains it, the *oil of consecration*.
 WHALLEY.

Notwithstanding the objection of Mr. Tollet [who ought to have shewn that Shakspeare was acquainted with his distinction between a *queen* and a *queen-consort*, to have made his argument conclusive], and all that has been added against the reading of the text, I cannot but think *emballing* to be right. Whether the Old Lady confined herself to the single sense which Dr. Johnson has given, is left for Mr. Collins to determine.
 HENLEY.

439. *More than my all, is nothing :—*] Not only *my all is nothing*, but if my all were more than it is, it were still nothing.
 JOHNSON.

447. *I shall not fail, &c.*] I shall not omit to strengthen by my commendation, the opinion which the king has formed.
 JOHNSON.

448. *—I have perus'd her well :*] From the many artful strokes of address the poet has thrown in upon queen *Elizabeth* and her mother, it should seem that this play was written and performed in his royal mistress's time: if so, some lines were added by him in the last scene, after the accession of her successor, king *James*.
 THEOBALD.

451. *————— a gem,*

To lighten all this isle ?—————] Perhaps alluding to the *carbuncle*, a gem supposed to have intrinsick light, and to shine in the dark; any other gem may reflect light, but cannot give it. JOHNSON.

So, in *Titus Andronicus* :

“ A precious

“A precious ring that *lightens* all the hole.”

STEEVENS.

464. ————*is it bitter?* forty pence, *no.*] *Forty pence* was in those days the proverbial expression of a small wager, or a small sum. Money was then reckoned by *pounds, marks, and nobles*. *Forty pence* is half a noble, or the sixth part of a pound. *Forty pence*, or three and four-pence, still remains in many offices the legal and established fee.

So, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, act ii. the clown says, *As fit as ten groats for the hand of an attorney*.

Again, in *The Wild Goose Chase* of Beaumont and Fletcher:

“———Now could I spend my *forty pence*,

“With all my heart.”

Again, in Green's *Groundwork of Coneycatching*:

“———wagers laying, &c. *forty pence* gaged against a match of wrestling.”

STEEVENS.

467. *For all the mud in Egypt:—*] The fertility of Egypt is derived from the mud and slime of the Nile.

STEEVENS.

486. *Sennet*,] Dr. Burney (whose *General History of Musick* has been so highly and deservedly applauded) undertook to trace the etymology, and discover the certain meaning of this term, but without success. The following conjecture of his, should not, however, be withheld from the publick:

Senné or *sennie* de l' Allemand *sen* qui signifie assemblée. Dict. de vieux *Langage*:

“*Senne* assemblée à son de cloche,” *Menage*.

D i i j

Perhaps,

Perhaps, therefore, says he, *sennet* may mean a flourish for the purpose of assembling chiefs, or apprizing the people of their approach. I have likewise been informed (as is elsewhere noted), that *seneste* is the name of an antiquated French tune. See *Julius Cæsar*, act i. sc. 2. STEEVENS.

In the second part of *Marston's Antonio*,

“Cornets sound a *cynet*.” FARMER.

In the stage-direction of one of Shakspeare's plays, *Sennet* is used not for the *tune*, but *instrument*.

HENLEY.

486. *pillars*;] Pillars were some of the ensigns of dignity carried before cardinals. Sir Thomas More, when he was speaker to the commons, advised them to admit Wolsey into the house with his maces and his *pillars*. *More's Life of Sir T. More*. JOHNSON.

Skelton, in his *Satire* against Cardinal Wolsey, has these lines:

“With worldly pompe incredible,
 “Before him rydeth two prestes stronge;
 “And they bear two crosses right longe,
 “Gapynge in every man's face:
 “After them folowe two laye men secular,
 “And each of theym holdyn a *pillar*,
 “In their hondes steade of a mace.”

STEEVENS.

———*two great silver pillars*;] At the end of Fiddes's *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, is a curious letter of Mr. Anstis's on the subject of the *two silver pillars* usually borne before Cardinal Wolsey. This remarkable piece of pageantry

pageantry did not escape the notice of Shakspeare.

PERCY.

Wolsey had two great crosses of silver, the one of his archbishoprick, the other of his legacy, borne before whithersoever he went or rode, by two of the tallest priests that he could get within the realm. This is from Vol. III. p. 920, of Holinshed, and it seems from p. 837, that one of the pillars was a token of a cardinal, and perhaps he bore the other pillar as an archbishop.

TOLLET.

499. *Sir, I desire you do me right and justice; &c.]* This speech of the queen, and the king's reply, are taken from Holinshed with the most trifling variations.

STEEVENS.

519. ———*nay, gave not notice]* In former editions:
—————*nay, gave notice,*

which, though the author's common liberties of speech might justify, yet I cannot but think that *not* was dropped before *notice*, having the same letters, and have therefore followed Sir Thomas Hanmer's correction.

JOHNSON.

561. *I am about to weep, &c.]* Shakspeare has given almost a similar sentiment to *Hermione* in the *Winter's Tale*, on an almost similar occasion :

“ I am not prone to weeping, as our sex .

“ Commonly are, &c.—but I have

“ That honourable grief lodg'd here, which burns

“ Worse than tears drown,” &c. STEEVENS.

569. ———*and make my challenge,*

You shall not be my judge :] Challenge is here
a *verbum*

a *verbum juris*, a law term. The criminal, when he refuses a juryman, says, *I challenge him*. I think there is a slight error which destroys the connection, and would read,

Induc'd by potent circumstances, that

You are mine enemy, I make my challenge.

—*You shall not be my judge.*

JOHNSON.

573. *I utterly abhor, yea, from my soul*

Refuse you for my judge——] These are not mere words of passion, but technical terms in the cannon law—*Detestor* and *Recuso*. The former in the language of the canonists, signifies no more than *I protest against*.

BLACKSTONE.

589. *——gainsay——]* *i. e.* deny. So, in Lord Surrey's translation of the fourth book of the *Æneid*:

“*I hold thee not, nor yet gainsay thy words.*”

STEEVENS.

602. *You sign your place and calling,——]* I think, to *sign*, must here be to *show*, to *denote*. By your outward meekness and humility, you *show* that you are of an holy order, but, &c.

JOHNSON.

606. *——now are mounted,*

Where powers are your retainers: and your words,

Domesticks to you, serve your will,——] You have now got *power* at your beck, following in your retinue: and *words* therefore are degraded to the servile state of performing any office which you shall give them. In humbler and more common terms; *Having now got power, you do not regard your word.* JOHNSON.

I believe

I believe we should read,

“Where powers are your retainers, and your
wards,

“Domesticks to you,” &c.

The queen rises naturally in her description. She paints the powers of government depending upon Wolsey under three images; as his *retainers*, his *wards*, his *domestick servants*. TYRWHITT.

So, in Storer's *Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal*, a poem, 1599 :

“I must have notice where their *wards* must dwell;

“I car'd not for the gentry, for I had

“Young nobles of the land,” &c. STEEVENS.

636. ————*could speak thee out*)] If thy several qualities had tongues to speak thy praise. JOHNSON.

644. ————*although not there*

At once, and fully satisfied)———] The sense is this. I must be *loosed*, though when so *loosed*, I shall not be *satisfied* fully and *at once*; that is, I shall not be *immediately* satisfied. JOHNSON.

663. ————*on my honour,*

I speak my good lord cardinal to this point,] The king, having first addressed to Wolsey, breaks off; and declares upon his honour to the whole court, that he speaks the *cardinal's* sentiments upon the point in question; and clears him from any attempt, or wish, to stir that business. THEOBALD.

669. *Scruple, and prick,*———] Prick of conscience was the term in confession. JOHNSON.

The

The expression is from Holinshed, where the king says, "The special cause that moved me unto this matter was a certaine scrupulositie that *pricked* my conscience," &c. See *Holinshed*, p. 907. STEEVENS.

679. ——— *This respite shook*

The bosom of my conscience, ———] Though this reading be sense, yet, I verily believe, the poet wrote :

The bottom of my conscience. ———

Shakspeare, in all his historical plays, was a most diligent observer of Holinshed's *Chronicle*. Now Holinshed, in the speech which he has given to king Henry upon this subject, makes him deliver himself thus : "Which words, once conceived within the secret *bottom* of my conscience, ingendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinently accombred, vexed, and disquieted." Vide *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 907. THEOBALD.

697. ——— *hulling in*

The wild sea ———] The phrase belongs to navigation. A ship is said to *hull*, when she is dismasted, and only her *hull*, or *hulk*, is left at the direction and mercy of the waves.

So, in the *Alarum for London*, 1602 :

"And they lye *hulling up and down* the stream."

STEEVENS.

718. *I then mov'd you,*] I have rescued the text from Holinshed.—"I moved it in confession to you, my lord of Lincoln, then ghostly father. And forasmuch

asmuch as then you yourself were in some doubt, you moved me to ask the counsel of all these my lords. Whereupon I *moved* you, my lord of Canterbury, first to have your *licence*, in as much as you were metropolitan, to put this matter in question; and so I did of all you, my lords." Holinshed's *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 908. THEOBALD.

730. ——— *The primest creature
That's paragon'd o' th' world.*

So, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*:

"No: but she is an earthly *paragon*."

Again, in another of our author's plays:

"——an angel! or, if not,

"An earthly *paragon*."

To *paragon*, however, is a verb used by Shakspeare, both in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Othello*:

"If thou with Cæsar *paragon* again

"My man of men."

"——a maid

"That *paragons* description and wild fame."

STEEVENS.

737. *They rise to depart.*] Here the modern editors add: *The king speaks to Cranmer.* This marginal direction is not found in the old folio, and was wrongly introduced by some subsequent editor. Cranmer was now absent from court on an embassy, as appears from the last scene of this act, where Cromwell informs Wolsey, that he is return'd and install'd archbishop of Canterbury:

My

*My learn'd and well-beloved servant, Cranmer,
Pr'ythee, return!—*

is no more than an apostrophe to the absent bishop of
that name. RIDLEY.

ACT III.

Line 17. *WAIT* in the presence.] *i. e.* in the pre-
sence-chamber. STEEVENS.

24. *They should be good men; their affairs are
righteous:] Affairs* means the business of their calling.

JOHNSON.

25. —*All hoods make not monks.] Cucullus non
facit monachum.* STEEVENS.

40. *Envy and base opinion set against 'em,]* I would
be glad that my conduct were in some publick trial
confronted with mine enemies, that envy and corrupt
judgment might try their utmost power against me.

JOHNSON.

42. *Seek me out,—]* I believe that a word has
dropt out here, and that we should read—*if your
business seek me, speak out, and that way I am wise in;*
i. e. in the way that I can understand. TYRWHITT.

The metre shews here is a syllable dropt. I would
read:

I know

I know my life so even. If 'tis your business

To seek me out, &c.

BLACKSTONE.

42. ————*and that way I am wife in,*] That is, if you come to examine *the title* by which I am the king's *wife*; or, if you come to know how I have behaved as a wife. The meaning, whatever it be, is so coarsely and unskilfully expressed, that the latter editors have liked nonsense better, and, contrarily to the ancient and only copy, have published,

And that way I am wise in.

JOHNSON.

45. *O, good my lord, no Latin;*] So, Holinshed, p. 908:

“Then began the cardinall to speake to her in Latine. Naie, good my lord (quoth she), speake to me in English.”

STEEVENS.

83. *For her sake that I have been, &c.*] For the sake of that royalty that I have heretofore possessed.

MALONE.

93. (*Though he be grown so desperate to be honest*)] Do you think that any Englishman dare advise me; or, if any man should venture to advise with honesty, that he could live?

JOHNSON.

95. ————*weigh out my afflictions,*] To *weigh out* is the same as to *outweigh*. In *Macbeth*, Shakspeare has *overcome* for *come over*.

STEEVENS.

113. *The more shame for ye;—*] If I mistake you, it is by your fault, not mine; for I thought you good. The distress of Katharine might have kept her from the quibble to which she is irresistibly tempted by the word *cardinal*.

JOHNSON.

143. ———superstitious to him?] That is, served him with superstitious attention; done more than was required. JOHNSON.

158. *Ye have angels' faces,*————] She may, perhaps, allude to the old jingle of *Angli* and *Angeli*. JOHNSON.

I find this jingle in the *Arrangement of Paris*, 1584. The goddesses refer the dispute about the golden apple to the decision of *Diana*, who setting aside their respective claims, awards it to queen *Elizabeth*; and adds:

“ Her people are ycleped *angeli*,

“ Or if I miss a letter, is the most.”

In this pastoral, as it is called, the queen herself may be almost said to have been a performer, for at the conclusion of it, *Diana* gives the golden apple into her hands, and the Fates deposit their insignia at her feet. It was presented before her majesty by the children of her chapel.

It appears from the following passage in *The Spanish Masquerado*, by Greene, 1585, that this quibble was originally the quibble of a saint.—“ *England*, a little island, where, as *Saint Augustin* saith, there be people with *angels' faces*, so the inhabitants have the courage and hearts of *lyons*.” STEEVENS.

200. *And force them*————] Force is enforce, urge. JOHNSON.

210. ———or at least

Strangely neglected?————] Which of the peers has not gone by him contemned or neglected? JOHNSON.

211. ————when did he regard
*The stamp of nobleness in any person,
 Out of himself?*] *When did he, however care-
 ful to carry his own dignity to the utmost height,
 regard any dignity of another?* JOHNSON.

230. ————contrary proceedings] Private practices
 opposite to his publick procedure. JOHNSON.

248. *And hedges, his own way.*———] *To hedge,*
is to creep along by the hedge : not to take the direct
and open path, but to steal covertly through circum-
volutions. JOHNSON.

256. *Trace the conjunction!*] *To trace, is to follow.*
 JOHNSON.

265. *In it be memoriz'd.*] *To memorize is to make*
memorable. The word has been already used in
Macbeth, act i. sc. 2. STEEVENS.

282. *He is return'd, in his opinions ; which*
Have satisfy'd the king for his divorce,
Together with all famous colleges
Almost in Christendom :———] Thus the old
 copy. The meaning is this : *Cranmer, says Suffolk, is*
returned in his opinions, i. e. with the same sentiments,
which he entertained before he went abroad, which
(sentiments) have satisfied the king, together with all the
famous colleges referred to on the occasion.——Or,
 perhaps, the passage (as Mr. Tyrwhitt observes) may
 mean—*He is return'd in effect, having sent his opinions,*
i. e. the opinions of divines, &c. collected by him.

STEEVENS.

337. *Enter the King, reading a schedule ;]* That the
 E ij cardinal

cardinal gave the king an inventory of his own private wealth, by mistake, and thereby ruined himself, is a known variation from the truth of history. Shakspeare, however, has not injudiciously represented the fall of that great man, as owing to an incident which he had once improved to the destruction of another. See *Holinshed*, Vol. II. p. 796 and 797.

“ Thomas Ruthall, bishop of Durham, was, after the death of king Henry VII. one of the privy council to Henry VIII. to whom the king gave in charge to write a book of the whole estate of the kingdom, &c. Afterwards, the king commanded Cardinal Wolsey to go to this bishop, and to bring the book away with him.—This bishop having written two books (the one to answer the king’s command, and the other intreating of his own private affairs) did bind them both after one sort in vellum, &c. Now, when the cardinal came to demand the book due to the king, the bishop unadvisedly commanded his servant to bring him the book bound in white vellum, lying in his study, in such a place. The servant accordingly brought forth one of the books so bound, being the book intreating of the state of the bishop, &c. The cardinal having the book, went from the bishop, and after (in his study by himself), understanding the contents thereof, he greatly rejoiced, having now occasion (which he long sought for) offered unto him, to bring the bishop into the king’s disgrace.

“ Wherefore he went forthwith to the king, delivered the book into his hands, and briefly informed him

him of the contents thereof; putting further into the king's head, that if at any time he were destitute of a mass of money, he should not need to seek further therefor than to the coffers of the bishop. Of all which when the bishop had intelligence, &c. he was stricken with such grief of the same, that he shortly, through extreme sorrow, ended his life at London, in the year of Christ 1523. After which, the cardinal, who had long before gaped after his bishoprick, in singular hope to attain thereunto, had now his wish in effect," &c.

STEEVENS.

348. ———*then, stops again,*] Sallust, describing the disturbed state of Catiline's mind, takes notice of the same circumstance.

“ ———*citus modo, modo tardus incessus.*”

STEEVENS.

411. *Beyond all man's endeavours:—*] The sense is, my *purposes* went beyond all human *endeavour*. I purposed for your honour more than it falls within the compass of man's nature to attempt.

JOHNSON.

413. *Yet, fil'd with my abilities:—*] My endeavours, though less than my desires, have *fil'd*, that is, have gone an equal pace with my abilities.

JOHNSON.

So, in a preceding scene :

—————*front but in that file*

Where others tell steps with me.

STEEVENS.

431. ———*notwithstanding that your bond of duty,*] Besides the general bond of duty, by which you are obliged to *be a loyal and obedient subject*, you owe a *par-*

E i j

ticular

particular devotion of yourself to me, as your *particular* benefactor. JOHNSON.

441. *As doth a rock against the chiding flood,]*

“ Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, resistit.”

Æn. 7. v. 586.

S. W.

477. *To Esher house,—]* The old copy reads—*Asher*. It was anciently so called, as appears from *Holinshed*:

“——and everie man took their horses and rode strait to *Asher*.” *Holinshed*, p. 909, Vol. II.

WARNER.

484. ‘*Till I find more than will, or words, to do it*

(I mean your malice), know,—

I dare——deny it.] Wolsey had said:

——*Words cannot carry*

Authority so mighty.

To which they reply:

Who dare cross ’em? &c.

Wolsey, answering them, continues his own speech, *Till I find more than will or words (I mean more than your malicious will and words) to do it*; that is, *to carry authority so mighty*; I will deny to return what the king has given me. JOHNSON.

535. *And dare us with his cap, like larks.]* It is well known that the hat of a cardinal is scarlet; and the method of *daring* larks was by small mirrors fastened on scarlet cloth, which engaged the attention of these birds while the fowler drew his net over them.

The

The same thought occurs in Skelton's *Why come ye not to Court?* i. e. a satire on Wolsey :

“ The red hat with his lure,

“ Bringeth al thinges under cure.” STEEVENS.

550. *Worse than the sacring bell,—*] The little bell, which is rung to give notice of the *Host* approaching when it is carried in processlon ; as also in other offices of the Romish church, is called the *sacring* or *consecration* bell ; from the French word, *sacrer*.

THEOBALD.

The abbess in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1626, says :

“ ——you shall ring the *sacring bell*,

“ Keep your hours, and toll your knell.”

Again, in Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584 :

“ He heard a little *sacring* bell ring to the elevation of a to-morrow mass.”

The now obsolete verb to *sacre*, is used by P. Holland in his translation of Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* B. X. ch. 6.

STEEVENS.

588. ——*to the mere undoing*] *Mere* is absolute.

STEEVENS.

601. *of a præmunire*] It is almost unnecessary to observe that *premunire* is a barbarous word used instead of *præmonere*.

STEEVENS.

604. *Castles, and whatsoever,———*] I have ventured to substitute *chattels* here, as the author's genuine word, because the judgment in a writ of *Premunire* is, that the defendant shall *be out of the king's protection* ;

tion; and his *lands* and *tenements*, *goods* and *chattels* forfeited to the king; and that his body shall remain in prison at the king's pleasure. This very description of the *Premunire* is set out by Holinshed in his *Life of King Henry VIII.* p. 909. THEOBALD.

618. —nips his *root*,] So, in *A. W.'s Commendation of Gascoigne and his Poesies*:

“And frosts so *nip the rootes* of vertuous meaning minds.”

See *Gascoigne's Works*, 1587.

STEEVENS.

630. —and our *ruin*,] The old copy reads,

—————*their* ruin.

STEEVENS.

If by *ruin* we understand *displeasure*, producing the downfall and ruin of him on whom it lights, the old reading (*their*) may stand.

MALONE.

632. *And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer*,] In the *Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey*, &c. a poem, by Thomas Storer, student of Christ-Church, in Oxford, 1599, the Cardinal expresses himself in a manner somewhat similar:

“If once we fall, we fall Colossus-like,

“We fall at once like pillars of the sunne,” &c.

STEEVENS.

667. —a *tomb of orphans' tears wept on them!*]

The chancellor is the general guardian of orphans.

A *tomb of tears* is very harsh.

JOHNSON.

This idea will appear not altogether indefensible to those who recollect the following epigram of Martial:

Flentibus

*Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera serpit,
Fluxit in obstantem succina gemma feram.
Quæ dum miratur pingui se rore teneri,
Concreto riguit vincta repente gelu.
Ne tibi regali placeas Cleopatra sepulchro
Vipera si tumulo nobiliore jacet.*

The Heliades certainly *wept a tomb of tears* over the viper. STEEVENS.

A similar conceit occurs in *Richard II.* act iii. line 434. HENLEY.

714. — *cherish those hearts that hate thee;*] Though this be good divinity, and an admirable precept for our conduct in private life; it was never calculated or designed for the magistrate or public minister. Nor could this be the direction of a man experienced in affairs, to his pupil. It would make a good Christian, but a very ill and very unjust statesman. And we have nothing so infamous in tradition, as the supposed advice given to one of our kings, *to cherish his enemies, and be in no pain for his friends.* I am of opinion the poet wrote,

————— *cherish those hearts that wait thee;*

i. e. thy dependants. For the contrary practice had contributed to Wolsey's ruin. He was not careful enough in making dependants by his bounty, while intent in amassing wealth to himself. The following line seems to confirm this correction:

Corruption wins not more than honesty.

i. e. You will never find men won over to your temporary occasions by bribery, so useful to you as friends made

made by a just and generous munificence.

WARBURTON.

I am unwilling wantonly to contradict so ingenious a remark, but that the reader may not be misled, and believe the emendation proposed to be absolutely necessary, he should remember that this is not a time for Wolsey to speak only as a *statesman*, but as a *Christian*. Shakspeare would have debased the character, just when he was employing his strongest efforts to raise it, had he drawn it otherwise. Nothing makes the hour of disgrace more irksome, than the reflection, that we have been deaf to offers of reconciliation, and perpetuated that enmity which we might have converted into friendship.

STEEVENS.

726. *Had I but serv'd my God, &c.*] This sentence was really uttered by Wolsey.

JOHNSON.

When Samrah, the deputy-governor of Basorah, was deposed by Moawiyah the sixth caliph, he is reported to have expressed himself in the same manner: “If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would never have condemned me to all eternity.”

STEEVENS.

Antonio Perez, the favourite of Philip the Second of Spain, made the same pathetick complaint: “*Mon zele étoit si grand vers ces benignes puissances [la cour de Turin,] que si j'en eusse en autant pour Dieu, je ne doute point qu'il ne m'eut déjà recompensé de son paradis.*”

MALONE.

ACT

ACT IV.

Line 1. ——— *O* *NCE* again.] Alluding to their former meeting in the second act. JOHNSON.

12. ——— *this day* ———] Hammer reads,
——— *these days*, ———

but Shakspeare meant, *such a day as this*, a coronation-day. And such is the English idiom, which our author commonly prefers to grammatical nicety.

JOHNSON.

91. ——— *like rams*] That is, like battering rams.

JOHNSON.

140. *SCENE II.*] This scene is above any other part of Shakspeare's tragedies, and perhaps above any scene of any other poet, tender and pathetick, without gods, or furies, or poisons, or precipices, without the help of romantick circumstances, without improbable sallies of poetical lamentation, and without any throes of tumultuous misery. JOHNSON.

151. ——— *he stepp'd before me*, happily,

For my example.] *Happily* seems to mean on this occasion—*peradventure*, *haply*. I have been more than once of this opinion, when I have met with the same word thus spelt in other passages. STEEVENS.

160. ——— *with easy roads*, ———] *i. e.* by short stages. STEEVENS.

177. *Of an unbounded stomach*, ———] *i. e.* of unbounded

bounded *pride*, or *haughtiness*. So, Holinshed, speaking of king Richard III.

“ Such a great audacitie and such a *stomach* reigned in his bodie.” STEEVENS.

178. —one, that by suggestion, &c.] Thus, Holinshed :

“ This cardinal was of a *great stomach*, for he compted himself equal with princes, and by craftie *suggestion* got into his hands innumerable treasure : he forced little simonie, and was not pitifull, and stood affectionate in his own opinion : in open presence he would lie and seie untruth, and was double both in speech and meaning ; he would promise much and perform little : he was vicious of his bodie, and gave the clergie euil example.” Edit. 1587, p. 922.

Perhaps after this quotation, you may not think, that Sir Thomas Hanmer, who reads *tyth'd*—instead of *ty'd all the kingdom*, deserves quite so much of Dr. Warburton's severity.—Indisputably the passage, like every other in the speech, is intended to express the meaning of the parallel one in the chronicle ; it cannot therefore be credited, that any man, when the *original* was produced, should still choose to defend a *cant* acceptation, and inform us, perhaps, *seriously*, that in *gaming* language, from I know not what practice, to *tye* is to *equal* ! A sense of the word, as far as I have yet found, *unknown* to our old writers ; and, if *known*, would not surely have been used in *this* place by our author.

179. Ty'd *all the kingdom* :] Sir Thomas Hanmer
rightly

rightly reads *Tyth'd*. Hall, from whom the above description is copied by Holinshed, is very explicit in the demands of the *cardinal*: who having insolently told the *lord-mayor* and *aldermen*, “For sothe I thinke, that *halfe* your substance were too little,” assures them by way of comfort at the end of his harangue, that, *upon an average*, the *tythe* should be sufficient; “Sers, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for *some* shall not paie the *tenth* parte, and *some* more.”—And again; “Thei saied, the cardinall by visitacions, makying of abbottes, probates of testaments, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollyngs in his courtes legantines, had made his *threasore egall with the kinges*.” Edit. 1548, p. 138, and 143.

FARMER.

In Storer's *Life and Death of Tho. Wolsey*, a poem, 1599, the cardinal says,

“I car'd not for the gentrie, for I had

“*Tithe*-gentlemen, yong nobles of the land, &c.”

STEEVENS.

Ty'd *all the kingdom* :] *i. e.* He was a man of an unbounded stomach, or pride, ranking himself with princes, and by suggestion to the king and the pope, he *ty'd*, *i. e.* limited, circumscribed, and set bounds to the liberties and properties of all persons in the kingdom. That he did so, appears from various passages in the play. Act ii. sc. 2. “free us from his slavery,” “or this imperious man will work us from princes into pages; all men's honours,” &c. Act iii. sc. 2. “You wrought to be a legate, by which
F power

power you *maim'd* the jurisdiction of all bishops." See also act i. sc. 1. and act iii. sc. 2. This construction of the passage may be supported from D'Ewes's *Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments*, p. 644: "Far be it from me that the state and prerogative of the prince should be *tied* by me, or by the act of any other subject."

Dr. Farmer has displayed such eminent knowledge of Shakspeare, that it is with the utmost diffidence I dissent from the alteration which he would establish here. He would read *tyth'd*, and refers to the authorities of Hall and Holinshed about a tax of the *tenth*, or *tythe* of each man's substance, which is not taken notice of in the play. Let it be remarked that it is queen Katharine speaks here, who, in act i. sc. 2. told the king it was a demand of the *sixth* part of each subject's substance, that caused the rebellion. Would she afterwards say that he, *i. e.* Wolsey, had *tythed* all the kingdom, when she knew he had almost *double-tythed* it? Still Dr. Farmer insists that "the passage, like every other in the speech, is intended to express the meaning of the parallel one in the *Chronicle*." *i. e.* The cardinal "by craftie suggestion got into his hands innumerable treasure." This passage does not relate to a public tax of the *tenths*, but to the cardinal's own private acquisitions. If in this sense I admitted the alteration, *tyth'd*, I would suppose that, as the queen is descanting on the cardinal's own acquirements, she borrows her term from the principal emolument or payment due to priests; and means to intimate that
the

the cardinal was not content with the *tythes* legally accruing to him from his own various pluralities, but that he extorted something equivalent to them throughout all the kingdom. So Buckingham says, act i. sc. 1. “No man’s pye is freed from his ambitious finger.” So, again, Surrey says, act iii. sc. *ult.* “Yes, that goodness of gleaning all the land’s wealth into one, into your own hands, cardinal, by extortion:” and *ibidem*, “You have sent *innumerable substance* (by what means got I leave to your own conscience) to the mere undoing of all the kingdom.” This extortion is so frequently spoken of, that perhaps our author purposely avoided a repetition of it in the passage under consideration, and therefore gave a different sentiment declarative of the consequence of his unbounded pride, that must humble all others. TOLLET.

185. —as he is now, nothing.] So, in Massinger’s *Great Duke of Florence*:

“ ————— Great men

“ Till they have gain’d their ends, are *giants in*

“ *Their promises*; but those obtain’d, *weak pygmies*

“ *In their performance.*” STEEVENS.

186. *Of his own body he was ill,*——] A criminal connection with women was anciently called *the vice of the body*. So, in *Holinshed*, p. 1258: “he laboured by all meanes to cleare mistresse Sanders of committing *evill of her bodie* with him.” STEEVENS.

So, the Protector says of Jane Shore, Hall’s *Chronicle*, fol. 16. temp. Edw. V. “She was *naught of her bodye.*” MALONE.

189. ————*their virtues*

We write in water.—————] Beaumont and Fletcher have the same thought in their *Philaster* :

“—————all your better deeds

“ Shall be in *water* writ, but this in marble.”

STEEVENS.

This reflection bears a great resemblance to a passage in Sir Thomas More's *History of Richard III.* whence Shakspeare undoubtedly formed his play on that subject. Speaking of the ungrateful turns which Jane Shore experienced from those whom she had served in her prosperity; More adds, “ Men use, if they have an evil turne, to write it in marble, and whoso doth us a good turne, we write it in duste.” *More's Works*, bl. let. 1557, p. 59.

PERCY.

206. ————*he did it* ;] The old copy reads,

—————*that did it.*

STEEVENS.

215. ———solemnly tripping *one after another*,] This whimsical stage-direction is exactly taken from the old copy.

STEEVENS.

229. *This to my lord the king.*] So, *Holinshed*, p. 939: “ —perceiving hir selfe to wax verie weak and feeble, and to feele death approaching at hand, caused one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commending to him hir daughter and his, beseeching him to stand good father unto hir; and further desired him to have some consideration of hir gentlewomen that had served hir, and to see them bestowed in marriage. Further that it would please him to appoint

point that hir servants might have their due wages,
and a yeares wages beside." STEEVENS.

300. *My wretched women——deserve*

A right good husband; let him be a noble.

I would read the last line only with a comma :

A right good husband, let him be a noble ;

i. e. though he were even of noble extraction.

WHALLEY.

A right good husband, let him be a noble.] Let him be, I suppose, signifies, even though he should be ; or, —admit that he be. She means to observe that, nobility superadded to virtue, is not more than each of her women deserves to meet with in a husband. STEEVENS.

ACT V.

Line 4. *NOT* for delights;——] Gardiner himself is not much delighted. The delight at which he hints, seems to be the king's diversion, which keeps him in attendance. JOHNSON.

9. ——at primero] *Primero* and *Primavista*, two games at cards, H. I. *Primera Primavista*. *La Pri-miere*, G. Prime, f. *Prime veue*. *Primum*, et *primum visum*, that is, first, and first seen : because he that can shew such an order of cards first, wins the game. *Minshieu's Guide into Tongues*, col. 575. GREY.

F i i j

So,

So, in *Woman's a Weathercock*, 1612 :

“ Come, will your worship make one at *primero* ? ”

Again, in the Preface to *The Rival Friends*, 1632 :

“ ———when it may be, some of our butterfly judgments expected a set at maw or *prima-vista* from them.”

STEEVENS.

16. *Some touch of your late business:—*] Some hint of the business that keeps you awake so late.

JOHNSON.

35. *——mine own way;—*] Mine own opinion in religion.

JOHNSON.

44. *Stands in the gap and trade of more preferments,*] *Trade* is the *practised method*, the *general course*.

JOHNSON.

Trade has been already used by Shakspeare with this meaning in *King Richard II*.

“ Some way of common *trade*.”

STEEVENS.

51. *——I have*

Incens'd the lords o' the council, that he is

A most arch heretick,——] This passage,

according to Shakspeare's licentious grammar, may mean—I have incens'd the lords of the council, *for* that he is, *i. e.* because.

STEEVENS.

56. *——broken with the king;—*] They have broken silence ; told their minds to the king.

JOHNSON.

61. *He be convented.——*] *Convented* is *summoned*, *convened*.

STEEVENS.

93. *Enter Sir Anthony Denny.*] The substance of this
and

and the two following scenes is taken from Fox's *Acts and Monuments of the Christian Martyrs, &c.* 1563.

“ When night came, the king sent Sir Anthony Denie about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The message done, the archbishop speedily addressed himselfe to the court, and comming into the gallerie where the king walked and taried for him, his highnesse said, “ Ah, my lorde of Canterbury, I can tell you newes. For divers weighty considerations it is determined by me and the counsaile, that you to-morrowe at nine of the clocke shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplaines, as information is given to us, have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realme such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared the whole realme being infected with them, no small contention and commotions will rise thereby amongst my subjects, as of late daies the like was in divers parts of Germanie, and therefore the counsell have requested me for the triall of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower, or else no man dare come forth, as witnesse in these matters, you being a counsellor.”

“ When the king had said his mind, the archbishop kneeled down, and said, “ I am content if it please your grace with al my hart, to go thither at your highness commandement ; and I most humbly thank your majesty that I may come to my triall, for there be that have many waies slandered me, and now this way I hope to trie myselfe not worthie of such reporte.”

“ The

“The king perceiving the man’s uprightness, joined with such simplicitie, said, “Oh Lorde, what maner a man be you? What simplicitie is in you? I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the paines to have heard you and your accusers together for your triall, without any such indurance. Do not you know what state you be in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easie thing it is to procure three or foure false knaves to witnesse against you? Thinke you to have better lucke that waie than your maister Christ had? I see by it you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevaile against you; for I have otherwise devised with myselfe to keep you out of their handes. Yet, notwithstanding, to-morrow when the counsaile shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a counsailer, that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further indurance, and use for your selfe as good persuasions that way as you may devise; and if no intreatie or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop), and saie unto them, if there be no remedie my lords, but that I must needes go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeale to the kinges owne person by this token unto you all, for (saide the king then unto the archbishop) so soone as they

they shall see this my ryng, they knowe it so well, that they shall understande that I have reserved the whole cause into mine owne handes and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof."

"The archbishop perceiving the king's benignity so much to him wards, had much ado to forbear teares. "Well, said the king, go your waies, my lord, and do as I have bidden you." My lord, humbling himselfe with thanks, tooke his leave of the kinges highnesse for that night.

"On the morrow, about nine of the clocke before noone, the counsaile sent a gentleman usher for the archbishop, who, when hee came to the counsaile chamber doore, could not be let in, but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to waite among the pages, lackies, and serving men, all alone. D. Buts, the king's physition, resorting that way, and espying how my lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the king's highnesse, and said; "My lord of Canterbury, if it please your grace, is well promoted; for now he is become a lackey or a serving man, for yonder hee standeth this halfe hower at the counsaile chamber doore amongste them." "It is not so (quoth the king) I trowe, nor the counsaile hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitane of the realme in that sort, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone (said the king) and we shall heare more soone."

"Anone the archbishop was called into the counsaile chamber, to whom was alleadged as before is rehearsed.

hearsed. The archbishop answered in like sort as the king had advised him; and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion or intreatie could serve, he delivered them the king's ring, revoking his cause into the king's hands. The whole counsaile being thereat somewhat amazed, the earle of Bedford with a loud voice confirming his words with a solemn othe, said; "When you first began the matter, my lordes, I told you what would come of it. Do you thinke that the king would suffer this man's finger to ake? Much more (I warrant you) will hee defend his life against brabbling varlets. You doe but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him." And incontinently upon the receipt of the king's token, they all rose, and carried to the king his ring, surrendring that matter, as the order and use was, into his own hands.

"When they were all come to the king's presence, his highness, with a severe countenance, said unto them; "Ah, my lordes, I thought I had had wiser men of my counsaile than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realme, and one of you in office, to waite at the counsaile chamber doore amongst serving men? You might have considered that he was a counsailer as well as you, and you had no such commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should trie him as a counsailer, and not as a meane subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciouslie, and if some of you might have had
your

your mindes, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I doe you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may bee beholding unto his subject (and so solemnelie laying his hand upon his brest) said, by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterburie, to bee of all other a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whome we are much beholding ;” giving him great commendations otherwise. And, with that, one or two of the chiefest of the counsaile, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his induraunce, it was rather ment for his triall and his purgation against the common fame and slander of the worlde, then for any malice conceived against him. “ Well, well, my lords (quoth the king), take him, and well use him, as hee is worthy to bee, and make no more adoe.” And with that, every man caught him by the hand, and made faire weather of altogethers, which might easilie be done with that man.”

STEEVENS.

127. ——— *You a brother of us,*] You being one of the council, it is necessary to imprison you, that the witnesses against you may not be deterred.

JOHNSON.

135. *Than I myself, poor man.*] *Poor man* probably belongs to the king’s reply.

JOHNSON.

146. *The good I stand on.*——] Though *good* may be taken for *advantage* or *superiority*, or any thing which may help or support, yet it would, I think, be more natural to say,

The ground I stand on——

JOHNSON.

160. *Ween you of better luck,*] *To ween* is to think, to *imagine*. Though now obsolete, the word was common to all our ancient writers. STEEVENS.

195. ————*bless her!*———] It is doubtful whether *her* is referred to the queen or the girl.

JOHNSON.

200. *Lovel*———] *Lovel* has been just sent out of the presence, and no notice is given of his return: I have placed it here at the instant when the king calls for him. STEEVENS.

250. Chan. *Speak to the business,*——] This lord chancellor, though a character, has hitherto had no place in the *Dramatis Personæ*. In the last scene of the fourth act, we heard that Sir Thomas More was appointed lord chancellor: but it is not he whom the poet here introduces. Wolsey, by command, delivered up the seals on the 18th of November 1529; on the 25th of the same month, they were delivered to Sir Thomas More, who surrendered them on the 16th of May 1532. Now the conclusion of this scene taking notice of queen Elizabeth's birth (which brings it down to the year 1534), Sir Thomas Audlie must necessarily be our poet's chancellor; who succeeded Sir Thomas More, and held the seals many years.

THEOBALD.

266. ————*and capable*

Of our flesh, *few are angels:*——] If this passage means any thing, it may mean, *few are perfect, while they remain in their mortal capacity.*

Shakspeare uses the word *capable* as perversely in *King Lear* :

“ ———and of my land,

“ Loyal and natural boy, I’ll work the mean

“ To make thee *capable*.” STEEVENS.

I suspect that Shakspeare wrote,

———In our own natures frail, *incapable* ;

Of our flesh few are angels.——

We are all frail in our natures, and *weak in our understandings*. So, in Marston’s *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599 :

“ To be perus’d by all the dung-scum rabble

“ Of thin-brain’d ideots, dull, *uncapable*.”

Again, in *Hamlet* :

“ As one *incapable* of her own distress.”

In *King Richard III.* the word *capable* is used to denote a person of *capacity* and good sense :

“ ———O, ’tis a parlous boy,

“ Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, *capable*.”

Again, in *Love’s Labour Lost* : “ If their daughters be *capable*, I will put it to them.” Again, in *Hamlet* :

“ His form and cause conjoin’d, preaching to stones,

“ Would make them *capable*.”

The subsequent words strongly support this conjecture :

“ ———out of which *frailty*,

“ And *want of wisdom*, you,” &c.

The transcriber’s ear, I believe, here, as in many other places, deceived him. MALONE.

285. *The upper Germany, &c.*] Alluding to the heresy of Thomas Muntzer, which sprung up in Saxony in the years 1521 and 1522. GREY.

327. ——— *your painted gloss, &c.*] Those that understand you, under this *painted gloss*, this fair outside, discover your empty talk and your false reasoning. JOHNSON.

332. ——— *'tis a cruelty*

To load a falling man.] This sentiment had occurred before. The lord chamberlain checking the earl of Surrey for his reproaches to Wolsey, says,

————— *O my lord,*

Press not a falling man too far. STEEVENS.

396. ——— *But know, I come not*

*To hear such flatteries now, and in my presence ;
They are too thin, and base to hide offences.*] I think the pointing of these lines preferable to that in the former edition, in which they stand thus :

————— *I come not*

*To hear such flatteries now : and in my presence
They are too thin, &c.*

It then follows :

*To me you cannot reach : you play the spaniel,
And think with wagging of your tongue to win
me.*

But the former of these lines should evidently be thus written :

*To one you cannot reach, you play the spaniel ;
the relative whom being understood.* WHALLEY.

442. ———*you'd spare your spoons:*] It was the custom, long before the time of Shakspeare, for the sponsors at christenings, to offer gilt spoons as a present to the child. These spoons were called *apostle spoons*, because the figures of the apostles were carved on the tops of the handles. Such as were at once opulent and generous, gave the whole twelve; those who were either more moderately rich or liberal, escaped at the expence of the four evangelists; or even sometimes contented themselves with presenting one spoon only, which exhibited the figure of any saint, in honour of whom the child received its name.

Thus, in the year 1560, we find entered on the books of the Stationers-Company, “a spoyne of the gyfte of master Reginold Wolfe, all gylte, with the pycture of *St. John*.”

Mr. Pegge, in his preface to *A Forme of Cury, a Roll of ancient English Cookery, compiled about A. D. 1390, &c.* observes, that “the general mode of eating must either have been with the *spoon* or the fingers; and this, perhaps, may have been the reason, that *spoons* became the usual present from gossips to their god-children, at christenings.”

Ben Jonson, in his *Bartholomew-Fair*, mentions spoons of this kind:——“and all this for the hope of a couple of *apostle spoons*, and a cup to eat caudle in.” So, in Middleton’s comedy of *A chaste Maid of Cheapside*, 1620:

“What has he given her?—what is it, gossip?

“A faire high-standing cup, and two great

G i j

“ ‘*Postle*

“ ‘*Postle spoons*, one of them gilt.—”

“ Sure that was Judas with the red beard.”

Again, in the *Maid in the Mill*, by Beaumont and Fletcher :

“ Didst ask her name ?——”

“ Yes, and who gave it her ;

“ And what they promis’d more, besides a *spoon*,

“ And what *apostles picture*.”

Again, in the *Noble Gentleman*, by the same authors :

“ I’ll be a gossip, Bewford,

“ I have an odd *apostle spoon*.” STEEVENS.

As the following story, which is found in a collection of anecdotes, entitled *Merry Passages and Feasts*, MS. Harl. 6395, contains an allusion to this custom, and has not, I believe, been published, it may not be an improper supplement to this account of *apostle spoons*. It shews that our author and Ben Jonson were once on terms of familiarity and friendship, however cold and jealous the latter might have been in a subsequent period :

“ Shakspeare was godfather to one of Ben Jonson’s children, and after the christening, being in deepe study, Jonson came to cheer him up, and askt him why he was so melancholy ? “ No, ‘faith, Ben, says he, not I ; but I have beene considering a great while what should be the fittest gift for me to bestow upon my god-child, and I have resolv’d at last.” “ I pr’ythee, what ?” says he.—“ I’faith, Ben, I’ll give him a douzen good *latten spoons*, and thou shalt translate them.”

The

The collector of these anecdotes appears to have been nephew to Sir Roger L'Estrange. He names *Donne* as the relater of this story. MALONE.

460. *Paris-garden?*] This celebrated bear-garden on the Bank-Side, was so called from *Robert de Paris*, who had a house and garden there in the time of King Richard II. *Rot. claus.* 16 R. II. *dors.* 11. Blount's GLOSSOGRAPH. in verb. MALONE.

So, in Sir W. Davenant's *News from Plimouth* :

“ ———do you take this mansion for *Pict-hatch*?

“ You would be suitors : yes, to a she-deer,

“ And keep your marriages in *Paris-garden*?”

Again, in Ben Jonson's *Execration on Vulcan* :

“ And cried, it was a threatning to the *bears*,

“ And that accursed ground the *Paris-garden*.”

The *Globe* theatre, in which Shakspeare was a performer, stood on the southern side of the river Thames, and was contiguous to this noted place of tumult and disorder. St. Mary Overy's church is not far from London-Bridge, and almost opposite to Fishmongers-Hall. Winchester-House was over against Cole-Harbour. *Paris-garden* was in a line with Bridewell, and the *Globe* playhouse faced Black-Friars, Fleet-Ditch, or St. Paul's. It was an hexagonal building of stone or brick. Its roof was of rushes, with a flag on the top. See a South View of London (as it appeared in 1599), published by T. Wood, in Bishop's-Court, in Chancery-Lane, in 1771. STEEVENS.

469. *Pray, sir, be patient ;—*] Part of this scene in the old copy is printed as verse, and part as prose. Perhaps the whole, with the occasional addition and omission of a few harmless syllables, might be reduced into a loose kind of metre ; but as I know not what advantage would be gained by making the experiment, I have left the whole as I found it. STEEVENS.

472. *On May-day morning ;—*] It was anciently the custom for all ranks of people to go out a *Maying* on the first of May. It is on record that King Henry VIII. and queen Katharine partook of this diversion. STEEVENS.

Stowe says, that “ in the month of May, namely, on May-day in the morning, every man, except impediment, would walk into the sweet meadows and green woods ; there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the noise (*i. e.* concert) of birds, praising God in their kind.” See also Brand’s *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, 8vo. 1777, p. 255. REED.

480. —*Sir Guy, nor Colbrand,*] Of Guy of Warwick every one has heard. Colbrand was the Danish giant, whom Guy subdued at Winchester. Their combat is very elaborately described by Drayton in his *Polyolbion*. JOHNSON.

491. *Moorfields to muster in?*] The train-bands of the city were exercised in Moorfields. JOHNSON.

492. —*some strange Indian—*] To what circumstance this refers, perhaps cannot now be exactly known. A similar

A similar one occurs in *Ram-Alley, or Merry Tricks*, 1611 :

“ You shall see the strange nature of an out-landish beast

“ Lately brought from the land of *Cataia*.”

Again, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by Fletcher and Shakspeare :

“ The Bavian with long tail and eke long TOOL.”

COLLINS.

Fig I. in the print of Morris-dancers, at the end of *King Henry IV.* has a bib which extends below the doublet ; and its length might be calculated for the concealment of the phallick obscenity mentioned by Beaumont and Fletcher, of which perhaps the *Bavian fool* exhibited an occasional view for the diversion of our indelicate ancestors.

TOLLET.

498. —*he should be a brasier by his face ;*] A *brasier* signifies a man that manufactures brass, and a reservoir for charcoal, occasionally heated to convey warmth. Both these senses are here understood.

JOHNSON.

505. *There was a haberdasher's wife of small wit—*] Ben Jonson, whose hand Dr. Farmer thinks may be traced in different parts of this play, uses this expression in his *Induction to the Magnetick Lady* : “ And all *haberdashers of small wit*, I presume.”

MALONE.

508. —*the meteor*] The fire-drake, the brasier.

JOHNSON.

—*Fire-drake.*] A *fire-drake* is both a serpent, anciently called a *brenning-drake*, or *dipsas*, and a name formerly

formerly given to a *Will o' th' Wisp*, or *ignis fatuus*.
So, in *Albertus Wallenstein*, 1640:

“Your wild irregular lust, which like those *fire-drakes*

“Misguiding nighted travellers, will lead you

“Forth from the fair path,” &c.

Again, in Drayton's *Nymphidia*:

“By the hissing of the snake,

“The rustling of the *fire-drake*.”

Again, in *Cæsar and Pompey*, a tragedy, by Chapman, 1631:

“So have I seene a *fire-drake* glide along

“Before a dying man, to point his grave,

“And in it stick and hide.”

A *fire-drake* was likewise an artificial *fire-work*. So, in *Your Five Gallants*, by Middleton:

“———but like *fire-drakes*,

“Mounted a little, gave a crack, and fell.”

STEEVENS.

512. ———who cried out, clubs!] *Clubs!* was the outcry for assistance, upon any quarrel or tumult in the streets. So, in the *Renegado*:

“———if he were

“In London among the *clubs*, up went his heels

“For striking of a prentice.”

Again, in Greene's *Tu Quoque*:

“———Go, y're a prating jack;

“Nor is't your hopes of crying out for *clubs*,

“Can save you from my chastisement.”

WHALLEY.

514. —*the hope of the strand,*] Hanmer reads, *the forlorn hope.* JOHNSON.

518. —*that thunder at a playhouse, and fight for bitten apples;*] The prices of seats for the vulgar in our ancient theatres were so very low, that we cannot wonder if they were filled with the tumultuous company described by Shakspeare in this scene. So, in the *Gul's Hornbook*, by Decker, 1609:

“Your groundling and gallery commoner buys his sport by the *penny*.”

In *Wit without Money*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, is the following mention of them:

“——break in at plays like prentices, for *three a groat*, and crack nuts with the scholars in *penny rooms* again.”

Again, in the *Black Book*, 1604: *Sixpenny rooms* in playhouses are spoken of.

Again, in the *Bellman's Night-Walks*, by Decker, 1616:

“Pay thy *twopence* to a player in this gallery, thou may'st sit by a harlot.”

Again, in the Prologue to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Mad Lover*:

“How many *twopences* you've stow'd to-day!”

The prices of the boxes indeed were greater.

Again, in the *Gul's Hornbook*, by Decker, 1609:—

“At a new playe you take up the *twelvepenny room* next the stage, because the lords and you may seeme to be haile fellow well met,” &c. In *Wit without Money*:

“And

“ And who extoll’d you in the *half crown* boxes,
 “ Where you might sit and muster all the beauties.”

And lastly, it appears from the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, by Ben Jonson, that *tobacco* was smoked in the same place :

“ He looks like a fellow that I have seen accommodate gentlemen with *tobacco* at our theatres.”

And from Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Woman-Hater*, 1607, it should seem that *beer* was sold there : “ There is no poet acquainted with more shakings and quakings towards the latter end of his new play, when he’s in that case that he stands peeping between the curtains so fearfully, that a *bottle of ale cannot be opened*, but he thinks somebody hisses.” STEEVENS.

520. —*the Tribulation of Tower-hill, or the limbs of Limehouse.*] I suspect the *Tribulation* to have been a puritanical meeting-house. *The limbs of Limehouse*, I do not understand. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson’s conjecture may be countenanced by the following passage in “ *Magnificence*, a goodly interlude and a mery, devised and made by mayster Skelton, poete laureate, lately deceasyd.” Printed by John Rastell, fol. no date :

“ Some fall to foly them selfe for to spyll,
 “ And some fall prechyng on *toure hyll*.”

STEEVENS.

Alliteration has given rise to many cant expressions, consisting of words *paired* together. Here we have
 cant

cant names for the inhabitants of these places, who were notorious puritans, coined for the humour of the alliteration. In the mean time it must not be forgotten, that “precious *limbs*” was a common phrase of contempt for the Puritans. WARTON.

Limehouse was before the time of Shakspeare, and has continued to be ever since, the residence of those who furnish stores, sails, &c. for shipping. A great number of foreigners having been constantly employed in these manufactures (many of which were introduced from other countries), they assembled themselves under their several pastors, and a number of places of different worship were built in consequence of their respective associations. As they clashed in principles, they had frequent quarrels, and the place has ever since been famous for the variety of its sects, and the turbulence of its inhabitants. It is not improbable that Shakspeare wrote—*the lambs of Limehouse*.

A *limb* of the devil, is, however, a common vulgarism; and in *A New Trick to cheat the Devil*, 1636, the same kind of expression occurs:

“ I am a Puritan; one that will eat no pork,
 “ Doth use to shut his shop on Saturdays,
 “ And open them on Sundays: a familist,
 “ And one of the arch *limbs* of Belzebub.”

Again, in *Every Man out of his Humour*:

“ I cannot abide these *limbs* of sattin, or rather
 Satan,” &c. STEEVENS.

I doubt much whether Shakspeare intended in this passage to describe any part of the spectators at the theatre.

theatre. He seems to me rather to point at some apprentices and inferior citizens, who used occasionally to appear on the stage, in his time, for their amusement. *The Palsgrave* or *Hector of Germany*, was acted in 1615, by a company of citizens at the *Red Bull*: and, *The Hog hath lost his Pearle*, a comedy, 1614, is said, in the title page, to have been publickly acted by certain *London 'prentices*.

The *fighting for bitten apples*, which were then, as at present, thrown on the stage, [See the Induction to *Bartholomew-Fair*: “Your judgment, rascal; for what?—Sweeping the stage! or gathering up the *broken apples*?”——] and the words—“which no *audience* can endure,” shew, I think, that these *thunderers at the play-house*, were actors, and not spectators.

The limbs of Limehouse, their dear brothers—were, I suppose, young citizens, who went to see their friends wear the buskin. A passage in *The Staple of News*, by Ben Jonson, act iii. sc. last, may throw some light on that now before us: “Why, I had it from my maid, *Joan Hearsay*, and she had it from a *limb* of the school, she says, a little *limb* of nine years old.—An there were no wiser than I, I would have ne’er a cunning school-master in England.—They make all their scholars *play-boys*. Is’t not a fine sight, to see all our children made *interluders*? Do we pay our money for this? We send them to learn their grammar and their Terence, and they learn their play-books.—School-boys, apprentices, the students in the inns of court, and the members of the universities,
all,

all, at this time, wore occasionally the sock or the buskin. MALONE.

“Any stick will beat a dog,” saith the proverb and so we find by Messrs. Johnson and Warton; for, if ever a Puritan come in their way, he is sure of a ferking from the first thing at hand. But whence did these gentlemen learn, that *The Tribulation of Tower-Hill* was a Puritan meeting-house? or that the Puritans who resorted to it were such “precious limbs” as the porter’s man describes in the foregoing speech, and his master in this?—*youths that thunder at a play-house, and fight for bitten apples.*—Such glosses too plainly evince, that there is no absurdity, however ridiculous, into which men of the first abilities may not be duped by the rancour of religious prejudice. It is evident that *The Tribulation*, from its situation, must have been a place of entertainment for the rabble of its precincts, and the *limbs of Limehouse* such performers as furnished out the shew. HENLEY.

523. ———*running banquet of two beadles,*] A public whipping. JOHNSON.

This phrase has already occurred in act i. sc. 4.

“—————some of these

“Should find a *running banquet* ere they rested.”

A *banquet* in ancient language did not signify either dinner or supper, but the desert after each of them. So, in Tho. Newton’s *Herbal to the Bible*, 8vo. 1587: “—and are used to be served at the end of meales for a junket or banquetting dish, as sucket and other daintie conciets likewise are.” STEEVENS.

541. —*here ye lie baiting of bumbards,—*] A *bumbard* is an *ale-barrel*; to *bait bumbards* is to *tipple*, to *lie at the spigot*. JOHNSON.

It appears from a passage already quoted in a note on *The Tempest*, act ii. sc. 2. out of Shirley's *Martyr'd Soldier*, 1638, that *bumbards* were the large vessels in which the beer was carried to soldiers upon duty. They resembled *black jacks* of leather. So, in *Woman's a Weathercock*, 1612: "She looks like a *black bombard* with a pint pot waiting upon it." STEEVENS.

551. *I'll peck you o'er the pales else.*] To *peck* is used again in *Coriolanus*, in the sense of *to pitch*.

MALONE.

589. —*every man shall eat in safety,*] This part of the prophecy seems to have been burlesqued by Beaumont and Fletcher in *The Beggar's Bush*, where orator Higgin is making his congratulatory speech to the new king of the beggars:

"Each man shall eat his own stolen eggs, and
butter,

"In his own shade, or sunshine," &c.

The original thought, however, is borrowed from the 4th chapter of the first book of *Kings*: "Every man dwelt safely under his vine." STEEVENS.

593. *From her shall read the perfect way of honour ;
And by those, &c.*] So the only authentick copy of this play. But surely we ought to read,
——the perfect *ways* of honour.

This, I think, is manifest, not only from the words *those* in the next line, but from the scriptural expression,

sion, which probably was in our author's thoughts:
 "Her *ways* are *ways* of pleasantness, and all her paths
 are peace." MALONE.

595. [*Nor shall this peace sleep with her :—*] These lines, to the interruption by the king, seem to have been inserted at some revisal of the play, after the accession of king James. If the passage, included in crotchets, be left out, the speech of Cranmer proceeds in a regular tenour of prediction, and continuity of sentiments; but, by the interposition of the new lines, he first celebrates Elizabeth's successor, and then wishes he did not know that she was to die; first rejoices at the consequence, and then laments the cause. Our author was at once politick and idle; he resolved to flatter James, but neglected to reduce the whole speech to propriety; or perhaps intended that the lines inserted should be spoken in the action, and omitted in the publication, if any publication ever was in his thoughts. Mr. Theobald has made the same observation. JOHNSON.

626. *And you good brethren,———*] But the *aldermen* were never called brethren to the king. The top of the nobility are but cousins and counsellors. Dr. Thirlby, therefore, rightly advised,

And your good brethren———

i. e. the lord-mayor's brethren, which is properly their style. THEOBALD.

E P I L O G U E.

Line 11. — *SHEW'D 'em :*] In the character of Katharine.

If they smile, &c.] This thought is too much hackney'd. It had been used already in the Epilogues to *As You Like It*, and the second part of *K. Henry IV.*

STEEVENS.

Though it is very difficult to decide whether short pieces be genuine or spurious, yet I cannot restrain myself from expressing my suspicion, that neither the Prologue nor Epilogue to this play is the work of Shakspeare; *non vultus, non color*. It appears to me very likely, that they were supplied by the friendship or officiousness of Jonson, whose manner they will be perhaps found exactly to resemble. There is yet another supposition possible: the Prologue and Epilogue may have been written after Shakspeare's departure from the stage, upon some accidental revival of the play, and there will then be reason for imagining that the writer, whoever he was, intended no great kindness to him, this play being recommended by a subtle and covert censure of his other works. There is in Shakspeare so much of *fool and fight*;

———*the fellow,*

In a long motley coat, guarded with yellow,
appears so often in his drama, that I think it not very likely that he would have animadverted so severely
on

on himself. All this, however, must be received as very dubious, since we know not the exact date of this or the other plays, and cannot tell how our author might have changed his practice or opinions.

JOHNSON.

I entirely agree in opinion with Dr. Johnson, that Ben Jonson wrote the *Prologue and Epilogue* to this play. Shakspeare had a little before assisted him in his *Sejanus*; and Ben was too proud to receive assistance without returning it. It is probable, that he drew up the directions for the parade at the *christening*, &c. which his employment at court would teach him, and Shakspeare must be ignorant of: I think, I now and then perceive his hand in the dialogue.

It appears from *Stowe*, that Robert Green wrote somewhat on this subject.

FARMER.

In support of Dr. Johnson's opinion, it may not be amiss to quote the following lines from old Ben's *Prologue* to his *Every Man in his Humour*:

“ To make a child now swaddled, to proceed

“ Man, and then shoot up, in one beard and weed,

“ Past threescore years: or with three rusty swords,

“ And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words,

“ Fight over York and Lancaster's long wars,

“ And in the tiring-house,” &c.

STEEVENS.

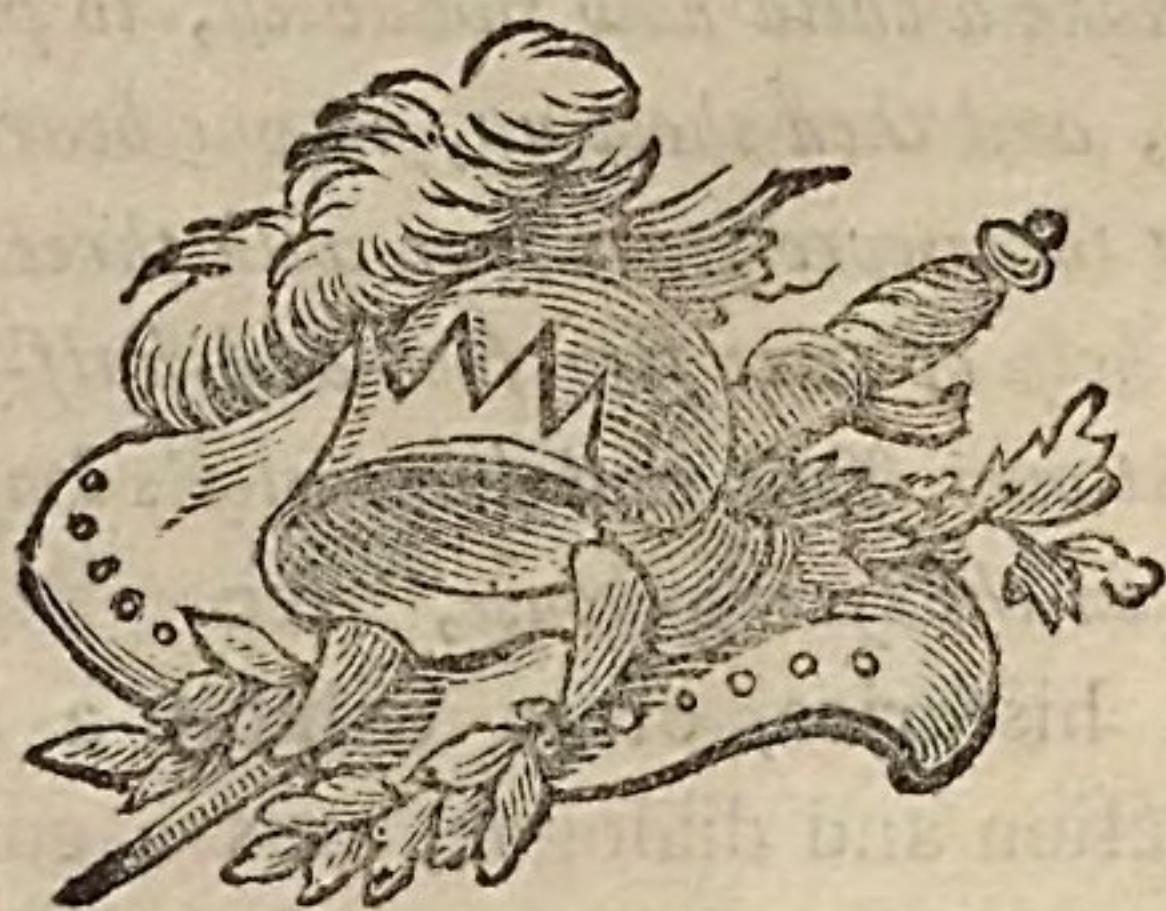
To play histories, or to exhibit a succession of events by action and dialogue, was a common entertainment among our rude ancestors upon great festivities. The parish clerks once performed at Clerk-enwell, a play which lasted three days, containing *The History of the World*.

JOHNSON.

It

It appears from more than one MS. in the British Museum, that the tradesmen of Chester were *three days* employed in the representation of their twenty-four Whitsun plays or mysteries. The like performances at Coventry must have taken up a longer time, as they are no less than forty in number. The exhibition of them began on *Corpus Christi* day, which was (according to Dugdale), one of their ancient fairs. See the *Harleian MSS.* No. 2013, 2124, 2125, and *MS. Cott. Vesp. D. VIII.* and *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, p. 116. STEEVENS.

THE END.



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